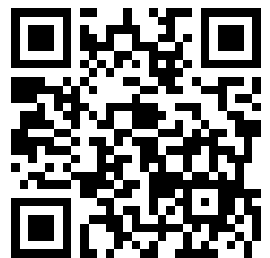


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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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BULLETIN 23

STOCKHOLM 1988

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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

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# The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm

Postal address: Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm, Sweden

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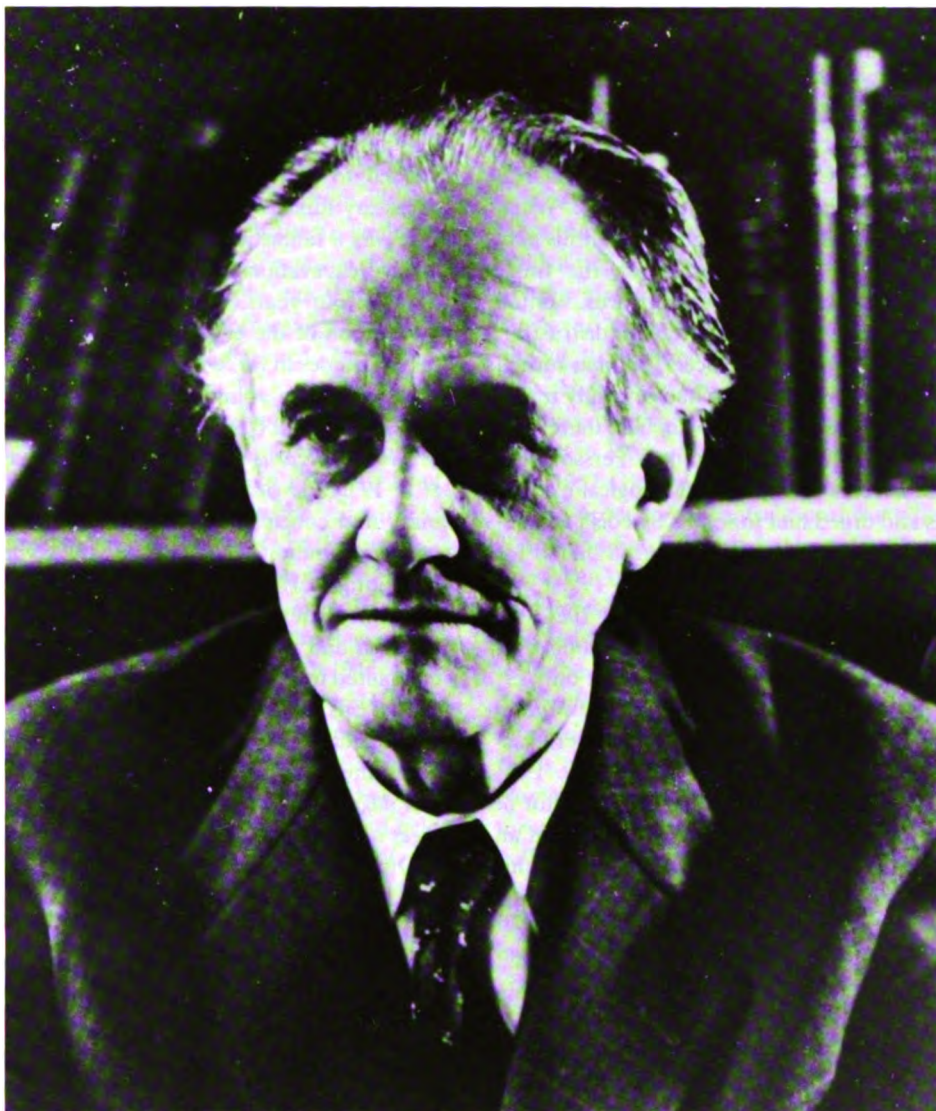
Published with the aid of a grant from Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet and The Society of Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet

Distribution office: Medelhavsmuseet, Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm, Sweden

Edited by Pontus Hellström. Photos of Stockholm objects by Margareta Sjöblom

ISSN 0585-3214

Printed by Berlings, Arlöv 1989



Einar Gjerstad  
30/10 1897–8/1 1988

Einar Gjerstad was born on October 30th, 1897 in Örebro and died on January 8th, 1988 in Lund at the age of 90. His father, Erik A. Nilson, was a merchant in the town and also a local politician. When he became cabinet minister during the First World War and later Director of the Bank of Sweden, the family had to

move to Stockholm. However, until old age, Gjerstad kept in touch with his birth place, the Bergslagen district, enjoying vacations at his summer residence Stensäter outside the town of Nora together with his wife Vivi (Livia), whom he married in 1921. The marriage lasted until her death in 1987.



Gjerstad commenced his academic studies at Uppsala University in the autumn of 1917. When the new Uppsala Professor, Axel W. Persson, started the excavations at Asine in Greece in 1922, Gjerstad became one of his assistants. It was also thanks to Persson that he was to concentrate on Cyprus for much of his life. The story is well-known in archaeological circles: When Persson was travelling through Yugoslavia on his way to the excavations in Greece, a man on the train, pretending to be the Swedish Consul in Cyprus, wanted to borrow some money from him. Although distrustful, Persson gave him money, even twice. The man turned out to be L. Pierides, whose family had officially represented Sweden for many years — in fact there is a centenary in 1992. Pierides suggested to Persson that Sweden should execute a major archaeological excavation in Cyprus and urged him to send a Swedish archaeologist to the island. Persson chose Einar Gjerstad for this important task.

Already in the following years, 1923 and 1924, we find Gjerstad in Cyprus starting excavations of his own at some prehistoric sites. In 1926, at the age of only 29, he defended his doctoral dissertation, entitled *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, where he gave a masterly account of the outlines of the island's prehistory. I remember when Dr Vassos Karageorghis, the Director of Antiquities of Cyprus, told me some years ago that an unproven scientific statement made by Gjerstad in his thesis had been proven as totally correct nearly 40 years later.

In 1927 Gjerstad was back in Cyprus as leader of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, the most important archaeological expedition to visit the island. Together with his colleagues Alfred Westholm and Erik Sjöqvist and the architect John Lindros he excavated 20 sites in different parts of the island during the years 1927–1931.

Chronologically the excavations cover the periods from Aceramic Neolithic, found on the rocky islet Petra tou Limniti off the northern coast of Cyprus, to the Late Roman period. The biggest find comprised some 2,000 terracotta figures which came to light at the Archaic cult centre Ajia Irini, half of which are exhibited in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia and the other half at the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. The most important architectural structure found was the Palace at Vouni from the 5th century B.C., located on a hill about 300 m high, overlooking the sea, with Petra tou Limniti in the distance. At the other 18 sites mostly cemeteries were excavated but also settlements and sanctuaries.

During the years of excavation Gjerstad only returned to Sweden once, and then to raise new funds for the expedition. He went to the then still famous Swedish world financier Ivar Kreuger, who told Gjerstad that he had no interest in archaeology, but who finally yielded to his powerful personality and granted the necessary funds.

It was a fantastic achievement to complete such extensive excavations at 20 different sites in so short a time as four years. Not less fantastic was the prompt publication of the excavated material by Gjerstad and his colleagues in three volumes, each of them consisting of a text and a volume of plates, together more than 2,000 pages and 600 plates.

*Swedish Cyprus Expedition I* appeared in 1934, *SCE II* in 1935 and *SCE III* in 1937. The volumes of summary and conclusions took a longer time, Gjerstad's own contribution, *SCE IV:2*, on the Cypriot Iron Age, appearing in 1948. The other volumes were written by his students, especially Professor Paul Åström, and by Swedish and foreign colleagues. The whole series was completed in 1972. For scholars on Cypriot archaeology the *SCE* is the standard work.

Gjerstad also published a popular book in Swedish about the years in Cyprus in 1933 under the title *Sekler och dagar*. In 1981 a revised edition in English entitled *Ages and Days in Cyprus* was issued as his last work.

During the period of Cypriot studies until 1948, Gjerstad produced in all 78 writings, the *SCE IV:2* being no. 79 in the bibliography. Of them 32 were articles in the leading Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, most of them from the years of excavations in Cyprus. The others include many important articles, e.g. three extensive ones published in *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3, 1944: *The colonization of Cyprus in Greek legend*, *The initial date of the Cypriote Iron Age* and *Die Ursprungsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserfora*.

The article *Four Kings*, published in *Opuscula Archaeologica* 4, 1946, described the rulers, two of whom were pro-Persian and the following two pro-Greek, who influenced the two main building phases of the Palace of Vouni, when its plan was changed from an Oriental to a Greek Palace according to the political inclinations of the different kings.

In 1935 Gjerstad was appointed Director of the Swedish Institute in Rome. At that time the Institute was still housed in small premises at Palazzo Brancaccio in the via Merulana. Here Gjerstad demonstrated that he also had a talent for administration. From the beginning he endeavoured to obtain new accommodation for

the Institute. When on July 1st, 1940 Gjerstad took over the Professorship of Classical Archaeology at Lund University from Martin P:son Nilsson, he had already accomplished the inauguration of the magnificent new Institute in Via Omero near Villa Borghese. The architect of the building was the famous Ivar Tengbom. Gjerstad's grand vision of a big Institute with all necessary facilities for a real research centre could be realized thanks to his ability and his persuasive powers, which made the Board of the Institute, the Wallenberg Foundation and the Italian authorities agree to his plans. Moreover Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf gave him his constant support.

However, Gjerstad not only promoted the building of an Institute in Rome. He also worked for the foundation of a Swedish Institute in Athens. In 1937 he started to arrange excursions to Greece with the students as part of the annual archaeological course of the Institute in Rome, in fact the same courses, which are still given every year at both Institutes. After the War the plans for the foundation of an Institute in Athens were revived. The constituent meeting took place in 1946 at the Royal Palace in Stockholm with Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf as chairman and Einar Gjerstad as secretary. The plans were promoted by the President of the Swedish Orient Line, Mr Herbert Jacobsson, and the Swedish Institute in Athens was founded in 1948. Gjerstad held the important post of Secretary of the Board of the Institute from 1948–1957. During the same period he was also Editor of the Institute's publications. Moreover he was Editor of the series published by the Institute in Rome in 1935–1957.

When in 1948 Gjerstad published his *SCE IV:2*, he completed 25 years of Cypriot studies. In the same year he started another working period of twenty-five years. The subject of this second life-work was the history of Ancient Rome, an interest which was created during his time as Director in Rome. Already in 1949 he presented his sensational theories in the article *Roms grundläggning och dess kungar. En historisk skiss in Historisk tidskrift* 69. In the same year the article *Scavi stratigrafici nel Foro Romano e problemi ad essi relativi* was published in *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 73.

Gjerstad's interpretation of the archaeological material, partly from his own excavations, combined with information in the ancient texts, gave a completely new picture of the origin and the ancient history of Rome. According to him Rome was not founded in 753 B.C. as the tradition maintains but instead c. 575 B.C., when

the first floor was laid on the Forum Romanum. The period of the seven kings of Rome was not 753–509 B.C. but 575–450 B.C., or according to Gjerstad the six kings, as Romulus was dispatched to the mythical world. Thus the date of the beginning of the Roman Republic was changed from 509 to c. 450 B.C.

It is natural that such a radical rejection of the ancient tradition of Ancient Rome should raise a storm of indignation and criticism from especially Italian scholars but also from traditionalists from other countries. However, Gjerstad continued his studies indefatigably and in 1953 *Early Rome volume 1 on Stratigraphical researches in the Forum Romanum and along the Sacra Via* was published. *Early Rome 2 on The tombs* appeared in 1956.

In 1957 Gjerstad was awarded a personal professorship in order to concentrate on his studies on Ancient Rome and finish the work during his lifetime. His chair was taken over by Krister Hanell. Gjerstad left his new professorship in 1972 at the age of 75, when he had finished the manuscript of *Early Rome 6*. In the meantime the following volumes had appeared: *Early Rome 3. Fortifications, domestic architecture, sanctuaries, stratigraphic excavations*, 1960, and *Early Rome 4:1–2. Synthesis of Archaeological Evidence*, 1966. Finally *Early Rome 5. The Written Sources*, and *Early Rome 6. Historical Survey*, were both published in 1973.

While Gjerstad's scientific results concerning Cyprus were more or less universally accepted, no unanimity has been attained as regards his theories on the ancient history of Rome, although there are even Italian scholars, who accept that the laying of the first floor on the Forum Romanum is a sign of the foundation of the city. Recent studies have changed the date of this event from 575 to 625 B.C.

During the years 1940–1957 Gjerstad performed the administrative and the teaching duties connected with his Professorship beside his intensive scientific work, although he spent long periods in Rome from 1948 onwards. When in the spring term 1949 as a young student I followed his inspiring lectures and seminars, it was for me a decisive experience. The lectures dealing with the history of Ancient Rome had attracted a large audience of people with cultural interests, who attentively listened to Gjerstad's inspiring presentation of his new theories. Only a small group of six students, among them Paul Åström, took part in the seminars. The subject was stratigraphic excavations and also the development of different pottery types in Cyprus. I think that both Åström's and my interest in stratigraphic

excavations was aroused during these stimulating seminars.

At the end of the spring term Gjerstad arranged for the group to go to Stockholm to visit the Cyprus Collections, which had come to Sweden soon after the end of the excavations in the early 1930's, 12,000 objects in all. I shall never forget the sight in the basement of the Museum of National Antiquities with Cypriot vases in long rows as far as the eye could see and Gjerstad guiding among them.

On the whole Gjerstad was most successful as an academic teacher. A dozen of his students finished their dissertations in various fields. He also acquired heirs in both his main scientific subjects, Paul Åström on the Cypriot side and Pär Göran Gierow on the Roman. Gierow also took over as Professor of Classical Archaeology at Lund University after the death of Krister Hanell. As Director of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities I assumed the administration of the Cyprus Collections. My own studies on Early Greece also resulted from suggestions from Gjerstad.

Gjerstad was a successful administrator also as Professor in Lund. In 1951 he managed to take over a building from the Faculty of Science and founded the Classical Institute, where the Departments of Latin and Greek were also housed beside the archaeological collections from the Mediterranean and the large collection of plaster-casts. For the first time at Lund University the Faculty of the Humanities acquired an institute building of its own. Soon thereafter Gjerstad managed to gather all the relevant series of archaeological periodicals and excavation reports from the University Library at the Institute, thereby creating a most useful research centre.

An aim that long eluded Gjerstad, although it was not his own responsibility, was the creation of a museum, where representative parts of the Cyprus Collections could be exhibited. Despite two special government commissions in 1936 and 1951 on the location of various museum collections in Stockholm, no positive result could be reached, although the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities was founded in 1954, when the Egyptian Museum and the Cyprus Collections together with some other minor collections were administratively united. The problem was not solved until 1982 when the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities obtained new premises in Gustav Adolf Square in central Stockholm, beside the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and opposite the Opera. It

was a happy moment, when Einar Gjerstad stood at the inauguration with King Carl XVI Gustaf, Jan-Erik Wikström, the minister of Education, Professor Alfred Westholm, his colleague from the excavations in Cyprus, and myself in front of the Ajia Irini group of several hundred terracotta figures. Some time later Gjerstad wrote me a letter, proposing a slight change in the exhibition, so that the Vouni head would stand close to the big model of the Vouni palace. The Vouni kore was already nearby. Thus his old dream had finally been fulfilled.

After the last volumes of *Early Rome* were published in 1973 Gjerstad was happy, after an absence of 25 years, to return to the Cypriot studies, which he had started half a century earlier. He published *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery in Cyprus* (together with others) in 1977, *The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus* in 1979 and *The Origin and Chronology of the Early Bronze Age* in 1980.

Gjerstad's bibliography for the years 1924–1962 was compiled by Maj Callmer and published in *Opuscula Atheniensia IV*, 1962. As regards 1962–1977 Maj and Christian Callmer compiled the bibliography, which is published in *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 1977–1978.

Gjerstad also in 1944 devoted himself to humanitarian pursuits. During the Second World War he was a Red Cross delegate and member of the Commission to Greece. He very seldom mentioned this time, it was understood that he had to use all his persuasive ability in the negotiations with the officers of the German occupation force concerning the distribution of necessities to the starving Greek population.

His work was not without risks. Once his lorry was attacked and he had to hide behind barrels of clothing, when bullets pierced his coat. His driver was hurt by bullets but nevertheless managed to bring the car through the attack.

The tragic events in Cyprus in 1974, when a considerable part of the population became refugees in their own country, caused Gjerstad great sorrow and he donated part of his fortune to the Red Cross for the relief of those who suffered.

Gjerstad was honoured by about 20 scientific societies, ranging from Membership of the German Archaeological Institute in 1936 to Foreign Honorary Membership of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1984. On the occasion of his 75th birthday in 1972 President Macarios of Cyprus honoured him as "the Father of Cypriote Archaeology" by unveiling a stele at





Einar Gjerstad, King Carl XVI Gustaf, Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, Minister of Education Jan-Erik Wikström and Alfred Westholm looking at the Ajia Irini group at the inauguration of the Museum on September 16th 1982.

the Palace of Vouni in memory of the work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (see Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities Memoir 2, p. 10). The ceremony was attended by high officials and diplomats from Nicosia. Among them was Vassos Karageorghis, who was a close friend of Gjerstad for many years. It seems that Gjerstad greatly appreciated this occasion, although he was generally averse to ceremonies.

From being an exigent but always inspiring professor, Gjerstad's relations with many of his earlier students developed into collegiality and friendship. I enjoyed

many stimulating sessions with him and his wife, when they spent an academic year in Athens at the end of the 1960's. On most Sundays we went on excursions to archaeological sites in Attica. Our meetings continued when in the 1970's they made their annual visits to Stockholm.

All of us, who have had the privilege of having Einar Gjerstad as Professor and all scholars, who have come into contact with him or with his writings, must feel that with his death one of the giants of Mediterranean archaeology has passed away.

*Carl-Gustaf Styrenius*

# Three Private Statuettes from the Middle Kingdom at Stockholm

Ingegerd Lindblad

The first two statuettes<sup>1</sup> came into the possession of the Egyptian Museum in Stockholm in 1933 as a gift from Professor Hermann Junker, together with a third, fragmentary, Middle Kingdom statuette.<sup>2</sup> All three statuettes were said to originate from El Katatbe in the Delta. However, the provenance indicated is a secondary annotation in the Museum's inventory; there is no reliable evidence as to the actual find or purchase of the figures at El Katatbe.

## Upper Part of Female Figure MM 11235 (Figs. 1–7)

The material is black granite. The max. height is 11 cm, the max. width 7.3 cm and the max. depth 6.5 cm. The width of the face is 3 cm and the height of the ear is 1.6 cm. The statuette is broken below through the arms and waist and the slab at the back. The slab is broken on top as well and there is a break all along the figure at the left side. The nose, mouth and chin are smashed. The upper part of the left ear is chipped, as is the right arm below and the lower part of the head-dress.

The female figure was either sitting or standing; it is not possible to decide the exact attitude from the preserved part. Judging by the remains of the slab at the back, there was at least one more figure to the left of the remaining one. The woman wears a close-fitting dress with stripes covering the breasts. The horizontal edge of the dress, just below the bosom, is indicated at the back as well. The head-dress is tripartite, with horizontal stripes on top and vertical stripes at the sides. It ends just above the bosom. The body is rather slender, with a delicate bosom. The medianline is plastically faintly modelled. The massive neck seems, anatomically, to end far below the shoulders, a fact that

gives this part of the body an awkward look.

The beginning of an inscription in sunken relief in a vertical column is visible on the right side of the slab:  $\text{A}=\text{}$ . It is likely to be read as *imy.t-r*, "overseer", indicating the official status of the depicted figure. It could possibly also be interpreted as the beginning of the name of the female; if so, it is to be read as *mr* . . .

The face is rounded, with a receding, flat forehead.<sup>3</sup> Both jaws are situated well ahead of the root of the nose. The very full cheeks are undifferentiated in the modelling; the maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is seemingly at the level of the alea. The base of the chin descends markedly.

The very narrow and elongated eyes are horizontally set. The eyeballs are globular and very oblique in profile. The rim of the upper eyelid is executed in relief; while that of the lower eyelid is plain half-way, turning into relief towards the outer canthi. The thick eyebrows are in relief and run almost horizontally; they descend faintly towards the root of the nose and increase in thickness at the temples. The cosmetic lines, equally in relief, become gradually very thick at the ends.

The nose is badly smashed. A semi-circular groove marks the right alea and shows that the nose was somewhat broader than the distance between the eyes.

The mouth is equally badly smashed. However, enough remains to indicate a serious expression and a rather thin, lower lip. The mouth was much broader than the nose.

The very large ears, especially the left one, are protrusive and tilted. The ear-lobes are flat, while the ear-conches are plastically more distinctly indicated.

The execution of the sculpture gives an impression of non-realized, formal possibilities. There is a sharp contrast between the narrow, distinctly executed eyes, the



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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4





Fig. 5



Fig. 6

eyebrows executed in relief and the cosmetic lines, on the one hand, and the completely undifferentiated, "heavy" volume of the cheeks, on the other. The horizontal axis is stressed by the position of the eyes, the design of the eyebrows, the horizontal middle line of the mouth and even the outline of the head-dress at the forehead. The pronounced, descending base of the chin emphasises the impression of "heaviness". In relation to the jutting volume of the cheeks, the eyes appear deeply set in the face and, on this account, the expression of the face becomes almost sly.

As there is no valid inscription for the dating of the figure, the style and iconography have to be scrutinized. The dress and the head-dress indicate a date of production, at the earliest, in the Middle Kingdom. This type of tight-fitting dress with braces is known very early in Egyptian history, though in a somewhat different design; the braces join at a point below or on the bosom in the Old Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In the Middle Kingdom, the braces are separated.<sup>5</sup> As for the long, striped head-dress, it differs in the Old Kingdom in comparison with the one here depicted, in so far as there is a parting in the middle,<sup>6</sup> while there are parallels to this design of



Fig. 7





Fig. 8

uninterrupted stripes in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Recalling the non-realized, formal possibilities in the general execution pointed out above, this circumstance could also support a date of origin in the Middle Kingdom, at the latest. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the statuary in the early New Kingdom,<sup>8</sup> I would exclude a date in the early New Kingdom for the production of this statuette;<sup>8</sup> a later production in the New Kingdom would certainly have resulted in a more elaborate product.

Thus, we arrive at a date of origin in the Middle Kingdom. Here I would refer to an article of mine touching upon the state of research on the Middle Kingdom statuary.<sup>9</sup> The "securely" dated, royal sculpture is in part very sparsely represented, as is also unfortunately the private sculpture. The statuette under discussion is to be dated rather early in the Middle Kingdom, judging by the schematic formal means, far removed from the well-known "Spiel von Licht und Schatten", such as is met with in the statuary of Sesotris III.<sup>10</sup>

The statue of a royal female found at Deir el Bahri and now in Geneva may represent the early eleventh



Fig. 9

dynasty and the earliest possible date of origin (Figs. 8–9).<sup>11</sup> The latest possible date may be exemplified by a bust, also of a royal person, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 10).<sup>12</sup> To begin with the Geneva statue, it shows a not unlike, facial shape with seemingly distended cheeks, but with a marked line between nose and mouth, and a markedly descending base of the chin. The ears are likewise very large and protrusive and the dress and head-dress are of the same type. However, the eyes are wideopen and the general impression is a more archaic one, due to the comparatively more exaggerated features, the more cramped position of the shoulders and the very schematic modelling of the torso. The Stockholm statuette is certainly to be dated later than the Geneva statue.

The date of the Metropolitan statuette is stated by Vandier to have been most likely in the reign of Sesotris II, but he also considers a date in the reign of Amenemhet III or in that of Amenemhet II.<sup>13</sup> The female figure wears the same type of head-dress and dress and, indeed, the stylistic criteria indicate a date of origin in the time of Amenemhet II or Sesotris II.<sup>14</sup> In this statuette, the "Spiel von Licht und Schatten" is





Fig. 10

foreshadowed and to a certain extent realized, matching the morose expression. Comparing it with the sphinx attributed to Amenemhet II, I prefer a date in his reign.<sup>15</sup> The expression is the same, as is the outline of the face in three-quarter profile, the cavities below the eyes, the stressed yokebones and the cosmetic lines that are indicated in relief, a feature that does not seem to be in use on the statues dated to the reign of Sesostri II.<sup>16</sup>

Although the iconography of the Stockholm statuette is similar to that of the Metropolitan statuette, the stylistic analysis shows the latter to be plastically more differentiated and likely to be placed later in the Middle Kingdom than the Stockholm statuette. According to Vandier, there are no known statuettes in stone of private persons before the reign of Sesostri II; Evers states that they replaced the stone statues towards the end of the reign of Sesostri I.<sup>17</sup> Thus, from the size alone, it would be vain to look for a date of origin in the eleventh dynasty. However, I exclude a date in that dynasty for a quite different reason. Although, on the whole, it demonstrates a rather undeveloped, formal language, this statuette completely lacks a feature that

is stressed in the sculptural art of the eleventh dynasty, namely the modelled line between the aleas and the mouth.<sup>18</sup> This special feature is fairly stressed also in the sculpture of the reign of Amenemhet I in the early twelfth dynasty.<sup>19</sup>

The sculptural art of the following reign, that of Sesostri I, is very rich and varied in style; authors have distinguished different topographical schools.<sup>20</sup> According to Evers, the sculptural art of Sesostri I was inspired by the art of Mentuhotep and foreshadowed the art of Sesostri III. Above, the Stockholm statuette was shown to be later than the eleventh dynasty and earlier than the reign of Amenemhet II. Although showing rather archaic features, it lacks a typical feature of the eleventh dynasty and, as it seems, also the early-twelfth-dynasty, sculptural art. Thus, I suggest a date of origin in the reign of Sesostri I, but I do not altogether exclude an even earlier date.

A common group, amongst the variety of constellations represented in Egyptian art, is that of man and wife.<sup>21</sup> The remaining figure may therefore very well be the female in a married couple. Due to its position on the original surface on the right side of the slab, the inscription presumably refers to the woman and, if read *imy.t-r*, "overseer", would indicate that she was a professional administrator. Indeed, female professional administrators are known from this period in ancient Egypt.<sup>22</sup>

It is not possible to decide whether the statuette was originally placed in the tomb of the person depicted or in a temple.

### Upper Part of Male Figure MM 11234 (Figs. 11–16)

The material is black granite. The max. height is 11.5 cm, the max. width 11.2 cm and the max. depth 8 cm. The height of the face is 4 cm and the width 4.8 cm. The height of the ear is 2.7 cm. The statuette is broken off obliquely below the neck and shoulders. At the back, the greater part of the shoulder-blades is preserved. The nose, the mouth and the right side of the jaw are smashed. The area above the root of the nose is chipped.

As there is no back pillar, the figure must have been seated, perhaps in the position of a scribe.<sup>23</sup> He wears a striped wig of shoulder length. The incised stripes run horizontally on top and vertically at the sides. At the back, the stripes join in a pattern of successively smaller





Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14





Fig. 15

wedge-shapes. The outline of the wig is almost horizontal at the crown, as well as below at the front. At the back, the wig ends in an elongated curve.

The neck is rather long and massive. At the back, the backbone and shoulder-blades are subtly modelled.

The face, which is wider than it is long, increases in width up to the level of the yokebones, from where it rapidly diminishes in width. The flattish forehead is very recessive in profile. The chin is short and broad, with a slightly receding outline in profile. Although the head is held in an uplifted position, the base of the chin descends strongly towards the neck. The outline of the lower jaw is plastically faintly differentiated at the neck. Enough remains to enable one to state that both jaws are set well ahead of the root of the nose, the lower slightly ahead of the upper one. The yokebones are jut out markedly and contrast with the sunken, orbital area. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is located at the level of the yokebones. Also below the yokebones, the cheeks are slightly sunken, especially along the nose. The medium-sized eyes are almond-shaped. They are horizontally set and wide apart, mainly in the frontal plane of the face.



Fig. 16

The eyeballs are markedly globular. The rims of the eyelids are plain and there are no cosmetic lines indicated. The upper eyelids are very large; the upper limit is marked by a deeply cut groove just below the superciliary arch. The eyelids jut well ahead of this area. There are deep grooves below the eyes as well. The superciliary arches are mainly made to appear by the grooves below and are faintly plastically differentiated at the forehead. They run horizontally to the middle of the eye, from where they sharply descend to join the sunken area below the eyes.

The nose is badly smashed. However, there are remains of the right alea that show that the nose was slightly broader than the distance between the eyes. The distance between nose and mouth, i. e. the philtrum, is long.

Only the left corner survives of the equally badly smashed mouth. The mouth was much broader than the bottom of the nose, and the lips diminished in width towards the corners. The upper lip is longer and points downwards, giving an impression of sadness. There is a faint, plastic fold running vertically from the right corner of the mouth almost all way down to the base of the



chin. The area of the mouth appears very protrusive in relation to the forehead.

The huge, protruding ears are schematically modelled. The helix appears rather thin in relation to the rounded ear-lobes.

The aged and seemingly worn face is an example of moderate expressionism, with both vivid and subtle modelling. The sagging flesh of the cheeks is no longer carried by the yokebones but descends towards the neck. The very broad, powerful face demonstrates large-scale, sweeping lines in the outline of the face and ears, while the modelling of the orbital area is delicately executed, as is the surface of the face, on the whole.

As for the date of origin, the stylistic features indicate a date not earlier than the reign of Sesostriis II and not later than the reign of Amenemhet III. The absence of cosmetic lines and the plastic modelling of the orbital area alone exclude a date previous to Sesostriis II.<sup>24</sup> But the plastic modelling, of the whole, is far more realized than in any of the sculpture depicting Sesostriis II and is a consequence of the formal change to a "Spiel von Licht und Schatten" that took place in the reign of Sesostriis III.<sup>25</sup> A dating later than Amenemhet III is not likely for the following reasons. The facial shape is markedly elongated, the features are stiff and sometimes an impression of a "mannered" style is conveyed in this period.<sup>26</sup> Thus, turning to the sculptural art of Sesostriis III, we find a great plastic change taking place, compared with the previous period, which represents a rather "classical" type of sculpture.<sup>27</sup> Suddenly, the whole face is split up into segments, preferably triangular ones, set in movement. The difference in level of the facial planes is great; the mouth area is prominent and the orbital area deeply set in the head. The bone structure becomes evident in the jutting yokebones and in the superciliary arches that join the yokebones below at an angle and vertically. In short, a dynamic and expressionistic, formal language. There are, however, examples that are quite modest as regards the formal language.<sup>28</sup>

The sculpture of Amenemhet III is different. The eyes become larger, the yokebones less prominent, the structure of the face more fragile, and the "Spiel von Licht und Schatten" is no longer so evident. The expression is no longer concentrated on the surface of the face but comes more from within, below the calmer surface.<sup>29</sup> The elongated, facial shape, which occurs in the sculpture of the following thirteenth dynasty, is already represented here.<sup>30</sup> A detail, compared with the sculpture of Sesostriis III, is the execution of the



Fig. 17

orbital area; the outer cornea ends in a line and the superciliary arch corresponds to that shape, instead of sharply turning downwards to join the yokebone, as in the reign of Sesostriis III.<sup>31</sup>

Where does this statuette fit into the formal patterns described? There is a very well-preserved, private statue in the Louvre, close in style to the Stockholm statuette and even wearing the same type of wig (Fig. 17).<sup>32</sup> It is dated by the inscription to the reign of Amenemhet III and the face is a reflexion of that of Amenemhet III, described above. Compared with the statuette under discussion, there are, however, also significant differences, such as the large, wide-open eyes with the upper eyelids prolonged beyond the lower, superciliary arches that run parallel to the outline of the eyes and a fragile facial structure with indistinct yokebones. Thus, it seems that the date of origin of the Stockholm statuette is prior to that of the Louvre statue. Comparing it with the sculpture of Sesostriis III, there is especially one specific feature of interest, significant enough, namely the execution of the orbital area. Although not so emphasized, the deeply set eyeballs with the upper eyelid jutting ahead of the superciliary arch is the same

as the jutting yokebone in three-quarter view.<sup>33</sup> The very specific design of the outer, orbital area and the superciliary arch coming sharply down upon the yokebone are also parallels.<sup>34</sup> The facial shape is paralleled as well.<sup>35</sup> According to Vandier, the similarity between royal and private sculpture is greatest in the reigns of Sesostri III and Amenemhet III.<sup>36</sup>

I have, however, not been able to find any good parallel to the Stockholm statuette among the private sculpture "securely" dated to the period of Sesostri III. The statuette under discussion certainly does not belong to the explicit, realistic and dynamic style, as represented in some of the royal statues and reflected in contemporary private sculpture.<sup>37</sup> Evers dates a statuette of a female in the British Museum to the end of the reign of Sesostri III and, compared with the Stockholm statuette, there is a likeness as regards the orbital area.<sup>38</sup> The Stockholm statuette is also fairly close in style to the group of Ukhhotep, which is represented with the same type of wig and likewise dated to the reign of Sesostri III on stylistic criteria.<sup>39</sup>

The Stockholm statuette is of a high artistic quality, in spite of the smaller size, which became usual in the Middle Kingdom. Now a middle class appeared that was allowed to put up votive statues in the temples, a practice formerly reserved for royal persons. This statuette may have been made for this purpose in the reign of Sesostri III, but it is not possible to say for certain whether it was made as a votive statuette or for funeral use. I suggest a date of origin towards the end of the reign of Sesostri III, considering the closeness in style to the Louvre statue, dated to the following reign of Amenemhet III. I furthermore consider the statuette to be a product of the dynamic "Spiel von Licht und Schatten" in the reign of Sesostri III, rather than of the period preceding that stylistic change.

### A Standing Male Figure MME 1969:160 (Figs. 18–23)

The third statuette was acquired from the estate of the late artist Reinhold Holtermann in 1969 in Stockholm.

The material is black granite. The max. height is 7.2 cm, the max. width 3.5 cm and the max. depth 3.8 cm. The height of the face is 1.4 cm and the width is 1.6 cm. The statuette is broken obliquely through the loins and the back pillar. The left side is broken just below the ear downwards. The middle part of the face is badly rubbed. At the back, the upper part of a back pillar is



Fig. 18

preserved, as well as part of a slab on the right side. The slab indicates that the male was part of a group.

The man is standing with the preserved right arm slightly moved forwards, probably with the hand flat on the thigh, an attitude for which there are many parallels and which is interpreted as a sign of supplication.<sup>40</sup> He is dressed in a long kilt, with a sash showing on the right side at the waist.<sup>41</sup> He wears the same type of striped wig of shoulder length as MM 11234, described above. In this statuette, the wig is exactly as broad as the shoulders and the outline is straighter. The shoulders are broad and the preserved arm is long in relation to the short, rather stocky torso. The pectoral muscles and the median line of the rib-cage are plastically distinctly, not to say harshly, modelled, appearing almost as an unbroken line.

The broad, rounded face is widest at the level of the yokebones, from which it rapidly diminishes in width upwards. The forehead is recessive, as is the short, broad chin, which descends towards the neck. Both jaws are set well ahead of the root of the nose, the lower slightly ahead of the upper one. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is at the





Fig. 19

level of the yokebone. The cheeks are evenly modelled, apart from depressions below the eyes; they are more pronounced towards the nose. There are also faint, plastic folds modelled from the wings of the nose downwards.

The narrow, almond-shaped eyes are horizontally set and wide apart, mainly in the frontal plane of the face. The eyeballs are globular, with large, plastically differentiated irises. The surface of the upper eyelids is rubbed, but they seem originally to have jutted slightly ahead of the forehead. The rims of the eyelids are plain. There are no marked eyebrows or cosmetic lines.

The nose is almost effaced; traces thereof show that it was wider than the distance between the eyes.

The mouth is likewise badly rubbed. Enough remains, however, to indicate a broad mouth with a straight middle line. The expression of the face is austere.

The ears are large and protrusive.

The statuette described is closely related to MM 11234. The facial shape, the interrelation of the jaws and the uplifted position of the head are parallels; even the type of head-dress is the same. In this smaller statuette, the facial features are more moderate and cannot be described as worn. On the whole, the differ-



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

ences in facial levels are smaller in this statuette; the orbital area is less protrusive and the upper eyelids and the yokebones are not so pronounced. Perhaps the small size may partially explain this more moderate, formal language. The specific position of the jaws, i. e. prominent in relation to the root of the nose, and sometimes additionally the lower jaw slightly ahead of the lower one, as noticed in both MM 11234 and the statuette under discussion, can be observed on statues representing Sesostri III and Amenemhet III.<sup>42</sup> This position of the jaws is otherwise rare in Egyptian sculpture. On the whole and stylistically speaking, this small statuette may be considered as a somewhat “younger brother” to MM 11234.

As in the case of the other two statuettes, it is not possible to decide any definite original use.

<sup>1</sup> MM 11235 and 11234.

<sup>2</sup> MM 11236. See Lindblad, I., 1986. A Standing Male Figure from the Middle Kingdom. *Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, (Medelhavsmuseet) Bulletin* 21, pp. 17–23.

<sup>3</sup> For the terms and points of reference used in the article, see Lindblad, I., 1984. Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt. *Medelhavsmuseet Memoirs*, Vol. 5, pp. 11–13.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Vandersleyen, C., 1975. *Das Alte Ägypten. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Band 15, Pls. 119b, 132 and 141. Berlin.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Vandier, J., 1958. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Tome III. Two parts. Les grandes époques, la statuaire, Pls LI, 1–3, LVI, 5 and LXXIV, 1, 3, 6, and p. 253. Paris.

<sup>6</sup> Vandersleyen, C., op. cit., Pls. 132 and 141.

<sup>7</sup> Vandier, J., op. cit., Pl. LXXIV, 6, and pp. 253–254.

<sup>8</sup> Lindblad, I., 1984, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Lindblad, I., 1986, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Evers, H. G., 1929. *Staat aus dem Stein*. Two parts, p. 82. München.

<sup>11</sup> Müller, M., in *Geschenk des Nils: Aegyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz*, 1978, pp. 43–44, Pls. 141a–b; Lindblad, I., 1984, op. cit., p. 62; Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 11.



- <sup>12</sup> MMA 08.202.7. Hayes, W. C., 1953. *The Scepter of Egypt*. Part I, p. 200, Fig. 122. New York; Vandier, J., op. cit. p. 224, Pl. LXXIV, 6.
- <sup>13</sup> See note 12.
- <sup>14</sup> Lindblad, I., 1986, op. cit., p. 21.
- <sup>15</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 50.
- <sup>16</sup> Lindblad, I., 1986, op. cit., p. 21.
- <sup>17</sup> Lindblad, I., 1986, op. cit., p. 22. The word "statuette" has here unfortunately been replaced by "statues".
- <sup>18</sup> Aldred, C., 1970. Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt. *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3, Figs. 3–9. New York; Grimm, G., & Wildung, D., 1987. *Götter und Pharaonen*, Nos. 14–15. Mainz.
- <sup>19</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 17; Hayes, W. C., 1953, op. cit., Fig. 123.
- <sup>20</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., p. 41; Vandier, J., op. cit., pp. 173. See also Lindblad, I., 1984, op. cit., p. 69.
- <sup>21</sup> Vandier, J., op. cit., pp. 240–246.
- <sup>22</sup> Ward, William, A., *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*. Beirut 1986.
- <sup>23</sup> Compare Vandier, J., op. cit., Pl. XCIII, 6.
- <sup>24</sup> Lindblad, I., 1986, op. cit., p. 21.
- <sup>25</sup> See note 10.
- <sup>26</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pls. 140–144 and 148.
- <sup>27</sup> Lindblad, I., 1984, op. cit., p. 69.
- <sup>28</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pls. 77 and 89.
- <sup>29</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pls. 101–104. The sphinx from Tanis and the statue from Mit Fares in Fayum represent a more dynamic style, though, in comparison, see Pls. 121–125 and 127.
- <sup>30</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pls. 131–133.
- <sup>31</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., p. 100.
- <sup>32</sup> Vandier, J., op. cit., pp. 268–269, Pl. LXIII, 2; Boreux, C., 1921–2. *La Sculpture Egyptienne au Musée du Louvre*. Pl. XXIV. Paris.
- <sup>33</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 85.
- <sup>34</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pls. 89–91.
- <sup>35</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 89.
- <sup>36</sup> Vandier, J., op. cit., pp. 260–261 and 276.
- <sup>37</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 83; Vandier, J., op. cit., p. 264 and Pl. LXXXIII, 4.
- <sup>38</sup> Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pl. 93.
- <sup>39</sup> *Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum*, 1967, No. 100. Mainz.
- <sup>40</sup> This attitude is first noted in statues representing Sesostris III. Evers, H. G., op. cit., § 691; Vandier, J., op. cit., pp. 227–228, Pls. LXIII:3 and LXXXIV: 1–4.
- <sup>41</sup> Vandier, J., op. cit., p. 249.
- <sup>42</sup> See, for example, Evers, H. G., op. cit., Pls. 79, 84, 91 and 103.



# New Light on a Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painter

Eva Rystedt

In the course of my study of the chariot motif of Mycenaean kraters a krater from Cyprus in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm recently attracted my attention as being another work by a painter already identified by modern scholarship.

The vase in question belongs to those found in Tomb 3 at Enkomi, a tomb extraordinarily rich in chariot kraters. Unlike the better preserved examples, it was not included in the original report on the finds of the Swedish Cyprus expedition but lay unpublished until 1960 when a note appeared about it, by Karageorghis.<sup>1</sup> Karageorghis identified two rather large fragments, one from each side of the vessel, as belonging to it.<sup>2</sup> My own re-examination resulted in the recognition that these actually join, and in the addition of a number of further, smaller fragments, some adjoining the former.<sup>3</sup> The fragments now making up the vase are shown in Figs. 1–4. They consist of (a) a large fragment of the body with a piece of the neck (b) joining the former, a large fragment of the body and the neck including the rim (c) a small fragment of the body and the neck and (d) a fragment of one handle with a piece of the rim. The rim and the handle were not previously in evidence. The second handle and the foot are still missing.<sup>4</sup> The profile of the vessel as far as preserved is clarified by the drawing in Fig. 5. The handle has a low ridge at the centre and no pierced holes (judging by their absence in the upper, preserved part). On the outside it bears a graffito (Fig. 9).<sup>5</sup>

Below follows a description of the pictorial decoration; cf. the drawing of Fig. 6. It is based on that given by Karageorghis but has been enlarged so as to prepare the ground for the painter attribution.

*The teams:* one on each side of the vase; facing left; preceded and followed by formal flowers.

*The horses:* heads lengthy and thin except for a distinct bulge at the mouth; eyes reserved, with a central dot; neck thin and tubular; ears not preserved; mane tufts designed as thin shafts expanding into distinct, one-sided bulges (in shape resembling the bulges of the mouths) and then retracting again into shafts; trunks starting out broad and thinning towards the loin where the rising line of the back marks the beginning of the heavy flanks; legs sinking into the set of encircling bands (reaching the second band of three); forelegs completely in silhouette, one bent and one straight; one hindleg in silhouette, one in outline; hooves, where observable, in outline and broadly triangular in shape;<sup>6</sup> tails forming a single unit at the rump but splitting into two further down.

*The chariots and the traction system:* chariots of the usual, dual type; box/wing “resting on” the wheel (i.e. not visible through the wheel); box oblong with rounded rear end, in single outline and with dotting in regular rows; wing largely unpreserved; wheel having a thin felloe and spokes of uniform thickness; no ornaments between the spokes; pole coming into view between rumps of horses and box; pole stay/brace visible in position above the pole and provided with a single, long, triangular flap in outline.

*The passengers and the reins:* one passenger within the bounds of the box, one within that of the wing; bodies short and upright with a marked horizontal recession of

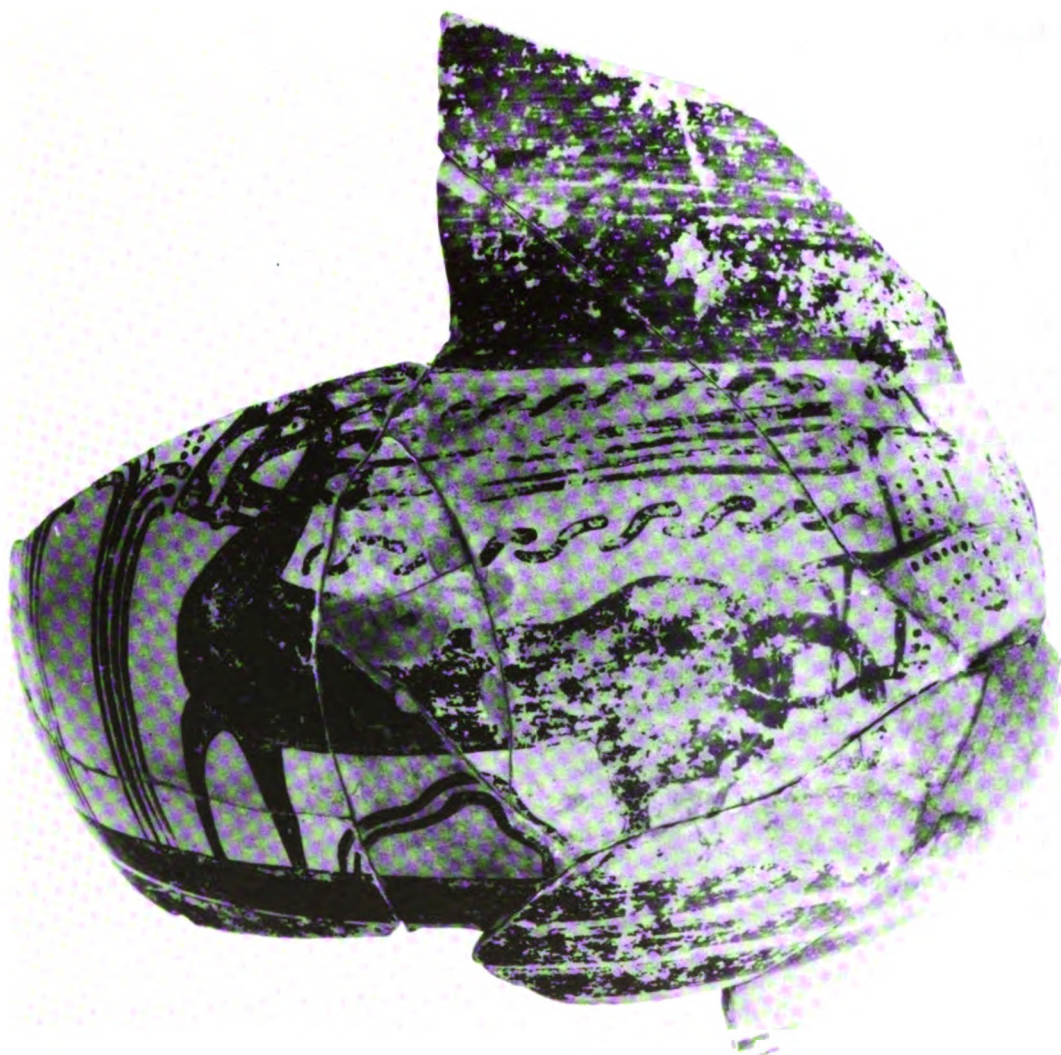
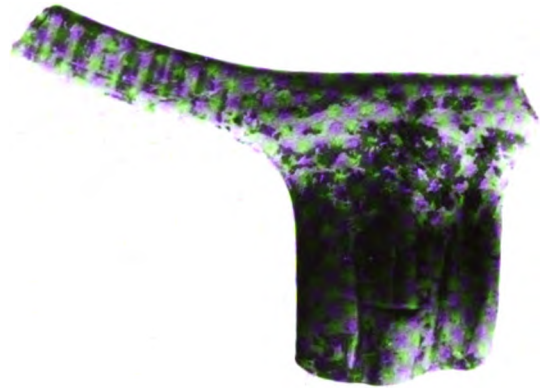
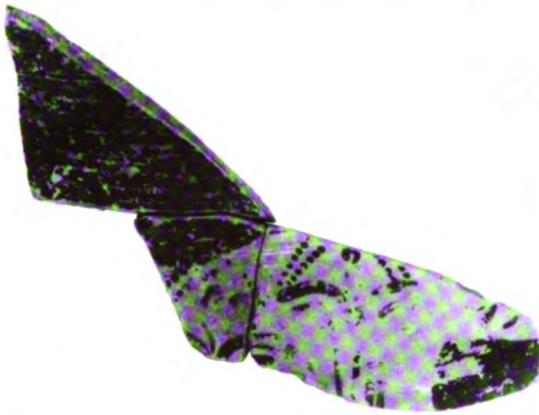


Fig. 1. MM E.3/I. Fragment *a*.



Fig. 2. MM E.3/I. Fragment *b*.





Figs. 3–4. MM E.3/I. Fragments *c* (left) and *d* (right).

the shoulder, in single outline and with dotting in three vertical rows; neck done in outline and fairly long; head (damaged) seemingly painted in silhouette;<sup>7</sup> eye reserved and approximately circular, with a central dot; nose long and drooping; mouth/chin shown as a weak, rounded projection under cover of the nose; driver provided with hands holding the reins; hands jutting out from the body as a single unit and then splitting into two (?) widely extended prongs; reins four in number, joining a circular terret at the horses' necks and continuing in reduced numbers to the horses' mouths.

*The subsidiary motifs:* a) stiff Myc. III voluted flowers (FM 18A) filling the intervals between the chariots and numbering six in the one controllable interval (cf. the drawing Fig. 6); each flower having a stem of four and a calyx of five lines (one of the former splitting into two); from the centre of the calyx although not joining it a short stamen with a separate, curled anther;<sup>8</sup> the whole capped by two semicircular rows of dots b) an isolated tricurved arch (FM 62) set under the bellies of the horses and composed of two parallel lines c) two series of horizontal, running quirks (FM 48), one above and one below the reins. On the rim there are sets of transverse strokes interrupted at intervals by a motif consisting of two forked elements set back to back (Fig. 5).

*The character of the painting:* the lines used for contours, reins, flowers, quirks etc. are all rather thick, and the paint for the silhouette areas is evenly applied. Together these features produce a certain heaviness that has only little to do with the forms but all the more with the brushwork. This painterly heaviness adds to

the static quality which is produced by compositional and formal means: the symmetrical arrangement of teams and flowers (flowers to left – chariot at centre – flowers to right), the regularity of the flowers and the dotting, and the immobilization of the legs of the horses by letting them sink into the encircling bands as if into a fence. In the matter of tonal quality, the tendency towards a rich use of silhouette (entire forelegs of horses except hooves, heads of passengers) moves the scales of the balance from a variegated use of several methods of painting (silhouette; outline with patterned fill; outline) towards a more uniform treatment.<sup>9</sup>

In almost all the respects just enumerated the painted decoration of our vase answers to that of a chariot krater kept at Nauplion and of another at Rochester (Figs. 7–8).<sup>10</sup> These two vases could easily be identified as the works of a single hand.<sup>11</sup> The Stockholm vase increases the painter's known production to three items. The relationship of the Nauplion and Stockholm kraters is particularly close, as witnessed especially by the shape of the horses' trunks, the chariot boxes and the riders' bodies including the driver's hands.

The similarities serve to set off the one trait by which both the Nauplion and Rochester kraters diverge visibly from the Stockholm one: the necks of the riders, being represented in silhouette like the heads. In the Stockholm krater we noted how the necks were painted in outline. The difference is of interest in the light of what was said above in connection with the character of the painting, and also in a wider perspective. Isolated from its context the silhouette form given to both the heads and the necks of the riders may easily be perceived as a casual oddity which begs no serious explanation. However, if we first look at the Stockholm krater (heads of

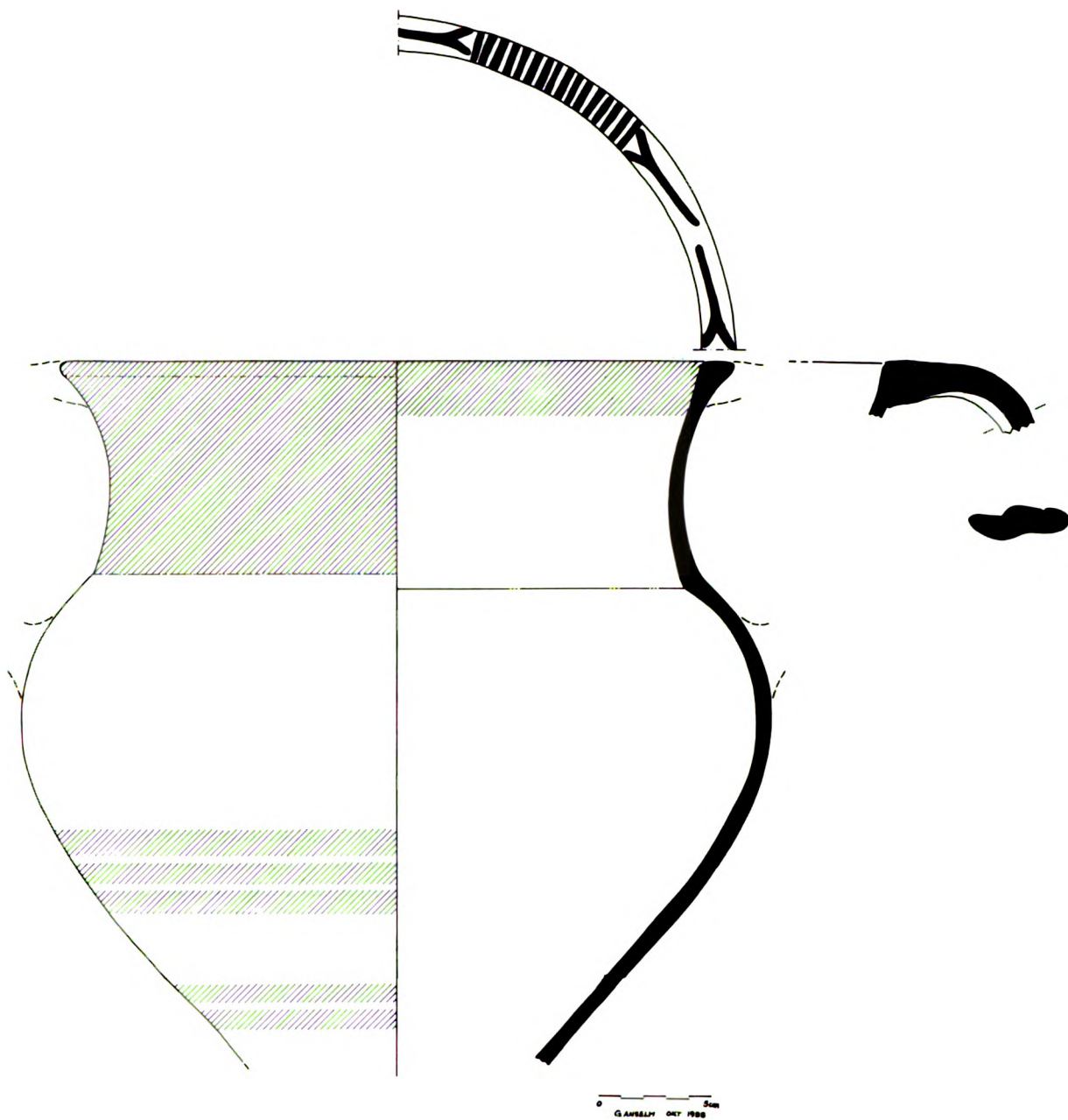


Fig. 5. MM E.3/I. Drawing by Gudrun Anselm.





Fig. 6. MM E.3/I. Drawing by the author.

riders in silhouette) and then at the Nauplion and Rochester ones (heads *and* necks in silhouette), the oddity is suspended. The study of the Stockholm krater confirms that we are dealing, not with an individual's particular liking for silhouette, but with a mode of painting of which an extended use of silhouette was an integral part, agreeing with the use of thick lines and a static setting. On other, earlier occasions there had been painters who had adopted silhouette for the necks of the chariot riders, even for their entire upper bodies as well as the surfaces of chariot boxes/wings.<sup>12</sup> These men did so out of individual preferences, since their works contain other traits beside the silhouette particulars which do not conform to the standard, or else are very rare, and so show the painters to have shunned some (not all) of the conventional solutions.<sup>13</sup> On the contrary, our painter was one among several<sup>14</sup> in whose hands an extended use of silhouette, like other, more or less related features, was a concomitant to a phenomenon which affected the whole genre of chariot decoration: the break-up of the standard, the dissolution of a time-honoured structural system (idiom).

As evidence of the dissolution we may point to the mystification of the forms. With this term I intend a treatment of the single forms that gives precedence to their pattern potency over their internal congruity to such a degree that they are wrung out of immediate

sensory understanding. Our painter has left us an unusually clear example of this phenomenon. In the Rochester krater we observe how the passengers of the chariots have a bulge low down at the back of their silhouette necks. The bulge is called "curious" by a modern commentator,<sup>15</sup> and indeed it is: it cannot readily be explained from the point of view of necks, whether in reality or as represented generally in Mycenaean pictorial vase painting. It can, however, be comprehended if it is seen as a mystification of the horizontally recessed *shoulder* which is a common enough element of the pictorial idiom.<sup>16</sup> Actually, the same kind of bulge is depicted as part of the shoulder, not the neck, in both the Nauplion and the Stockholm krater, notwithstanding the use of silhouette for the neck in the Nauplion vase, as in the Rochester one. The case is good for showing that the painter knew quite well where the bulge belonged according to the idiom, but nevertheless did not hesitate to give it a transposed, perplexing visual value. Granted that other contemporary painters behaved similarly, the dissolution was, thus, not an effect of a gradual decline of the knowledge of the idiom, such as a geographic spread of workshop activity might be assumed to have entailed. The explanation is to be sought elsewhere, in some other precise historic circumstance which was capable of exhausting, not the motif of the chariot which lasted



for a considerable time still, but the morphology and syntax of its representation.<sup>17</sup>

Let us return to the three vases and the man who painted them. It would be of interest to find out, if possible, in what order he painted them. In fact, the decoration holds some clues to the matter which have already been hinted at, namely the painting technique used for the necks and the visual relationship of the bulges. The variable combinations of neck and bulge characteristics result in the following typological sequence: neck in outline; bulge connected with shoulder – neck in silhouette; bulge connected with shoulder – neck in silhouette; bulge connected with neck. It is a natural assumption that neck in outline and shoulder bulge represents the head of the sequence, neck in silhouette and neck bulge the end, not the other way round (cf. above on the bulges). The corresponding order of the vases would be: (1) Stockholm krater (2) Nauplion krater (3) Rochester krater.

With no other evidence to go on, it would be impossible to say if this order reflects one of actual production in addition to being merely typological. But as it is we have more indications. They are concentrated to the Rochester and Stockholm kraters.

In the former vase we note how the trunks of the horses are thinner than those to be seen on the Stockholm and Nauplion kraters, giving to the animals a

touch of slim elegance which contrasts sharply with the Ardennes-style robustness of their comrades. Extenuated and elongated trunks of animals is a feature which tends to be late in comparison with trunks of sturdier, shorter build, not only within Mycenaean pictorial vase painting but in other painted wares from antiquity as well which employ the same animal motifs over and over again.<sup>18</sup> It is at least partly dependent on the gradual transition to more cursive painting as a result of the repetition. It may perhaps be debated whether the animals of the Rochester krater are really a case in point, seeing that the elongated proportions affect other forms as well including vertical ones (chariot boxes, passengers), and so might have been consciously adopted by the painter rather than being the outcome of an internal development. On the other hand, it can hardly be denied that several of the forms visible precisely on the Rochester krater have a slipshod quality of the sort that announces a ripe work allowed to go slack: the horizontal quirks, being unevenly spaced and irregularly placed in relation to the reins; the chariot box, sagging in its anterior part; the formal flowers, looking not so very formal due to the imprecise design of their stems; and, in addition, the unevenness of the lines themselves, being now thick, now thin, the two kinds sometimes occurring side by side (thin for the box, thick for the wing of the chariot in Fig. 8). As for the



Fig. 7. Chariot krater found at Nauplion. Archaeological Museum of Nauplion, inv. no. 15180. After *Das Mykenische Hellas. Heimat der Helden Homers*, Athen 1988, p. 239.





Fig. 8. Chiot krater of unknown provenience. Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, R. T. Miller Fund, 51.204. By courtesy of the Memorial Art Gallery.

Stockholm krater, it incorporates three elements of design which are lacking in the other vases: the pole of the chariot, coming into view behind the horses' rumps; the tricurved arch below the horses' bellies; and the bend of the anterior forelegs. From the evidence of other vases as to the occurrence of each, it seems likely that their joint presence or absence has not only typological but also chronological significance, with the presence possessing temporal priority over the absence.<sup>19</sup>

In combination, the two kinds of evidence, when added to that of the necks and bulges discussed above, leave us enough ground for supposing that the Stockholm and the Rochester kraters were actually painted on measurably distant occasions, the former before the latter. The position of the Nauplion krater appears less decisive, but its overall resemblance in decoration to the Stockholm krater (cf. above) argues that it, too, preceded the Rochester krater. The question of the chronological relationship of the Stockholm and Nauplion kraters should perhaps not be pressed for an answer, especially as long as the Nauplion krater remains essentially unpublished.

As for the absolute date of the painter's activity, a rough-and-ready one will have to suffice for the present: late LH IIIA – early LH IIIB (end of fourteenth – beginning of thirteenth century B.C.);<sup>20</sup> further precision seems unwarranted in a situation where several works are in progress which will hopefully contribute a detailed framework into which to fit the chariot kraters.<sup>21</sup>



Fig. 9. MM E.3/I. Detail of handle with graffito.

To be known merely as a number is no comfort even to the dead. Let us therefore name our man not Painter 30, as he was wont to be called so far, but the Neck-Bulge Painter, in recognition of the painterly freak which was peculiarly his and, at the same time, allows us modernists a precious insight into the mechanisms of change which influenced the decorative tradition of the Mycenaean chariot krater at the time of his activity.

<sup>1</sup> V. Karageorghis, Supplementary notes on the Mycenaean vases from Swedish tombs at Enkomi, *OpAth* 3, 1960, p. 143, Pl. VI:1–2. In this publication the vase is referred to as Tomb 3/I. Following the designation of other finds from Enkomi tombs in the Medelhavsmuseet, this may be expanded for clarity to MM E.3/I. The vase is apparently not included in E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1982 (henceforth cited as Vermeule & Karageorghis).

<sup>2</sup> Karageorghis, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI:1–2.

<sup>3</sup> Two of these smaller fragments appear on Pl. VII of the same article by Karageorghis, in connection with a different vase, MM E.3/III (p. 144). However, the fragment of Pl. VII:5, which includes part of the rump of a horse facing left, was found to join the left edge of fragment *b* of MM E.3/I, and Pl. VII:3, when turned upside down and seen to hold the same flowers as MM E.3/I, in addition to the chest of a horse facing left, became fragment *c*.

<sup>4</sup> The additions are, unfortunately, somewhat set back by the loss between 1960 and 1987 of some minor parts of fragment *a*, including the wing of the chariot and part of the second rider: contrast Fig. 1 of the present article with Pl. VI:2 of that by Karageorghis. In the period in question the Cypriot ceramic material of the Museum was moved more than once between different storage premises, a circumstance which may well have engendered the disorder.

<sup>5</sup> The graffito looks as if it had been made before firing. It answers to no. 104 of the list of Cypro-Minoan signs composed by Emilia Masson. The particular syllabary to which it belongs is probably that of Cypro-Minoan 1. See E. Masson, *Cypro-minoica. Répertoires. Documents de Ras Shamra. Essais d'interprétation*, Gothenburg 1974 (= *SIMA*, vol. XXXI:2), p. 15, Fig. 4.

I am indebted to Dr. Jean-Pierre Olivier for kindly offering his help in identifying the sign.



<sup>6</sup> See the drawing Fig. 6. The clearest example is that of fragment *b* (rear hindleg). Here one can distinguish the paint for the triangular hoof as a faint mark on top of that for the second horizontal band. In the case of fragment *a*, the anterior foreleg can be assumed to finish in a similarly shaped hoof from the tiny, forked remnants of its outline visible between the first and second horizontal band.

<sup>7</sup> The reservation inherent in "seemingly" is due to the surface damage which prevents full certainty. There may actually be a gap in the colour at the crown of the head, indicating outline painting for the hair on top of the skull. What can be said with certainty is that the lines used for the major part of the head, being thick as in the rest of the painting and joining in a restricted space to form the features, produced the effect of silhouette even if this was not exactly what the painter originally had in mind.

<sup>8</sup> These details of the flower are observable only in fragment *c*.

<sup>9</sup> The categories adopted here for the analysis of the character of the painting are among those being tested by the author for a work in preparation which deals with the chariot motif in (principally) Mycenaean and Geometric figural vase painting.

<sup>10</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis nos. IX.1.1 and V.1. The first publications (preliminary in the case of the Nauplion krater) are, respectively, E. Protonotariou-Deilaki in *ArchDelt* 28, 1973, Chron. B'1, pp. 91–92, Pl. 90, bottom right and V. Karageorghis, Two Mycenaean chariot kraters at Rochester, U. S. A., *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 162–64, 168–73, Figs. 6–9. See also J. H. Crouwel, *Chariots and Others Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece*, Amsterdam 1981, Å. Åkerström, *Berbati 2. The Pictorial Pottery*, Stockholm 1987, pp. 112–13, 118–19, and *Das mykenische Hellas. Heimat der Helden Homers. Sonderausstellungshalle der Staatlichen Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1. Juni–19. August 1988*, Athen 1988, No. 242. I am indebted to Bernard Barryte, Curator of European Art at the Memorial Art Gallery of Rochester, for information as to the Rochester vase.

<sup>11</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis, p. 177 (Painter 30).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* nos. III.16 (necks of riders); III.6 (entire riders plus chariot boxes/wings).

<sup>13</sup> In the case of Vermeule & Karageorghis no. III.16 the patterning of the rockwork filling is very unusual with its manneristic contrasts of painted and unpainted, and of blocks of paint and stripes. In Vermeule & Karageorghis no. III.6 (the Roc krater) the chariot riders expose their arms in an unparalleled manner.

Åkerström in his book on the Berbati material puts the Roc krater late in the series, basing his opinion partly on its rich use of silhouette (Åkerström (above, n. 10), pp. 105–07). His reasoning conflicts with the view indirectly expressed here that silhouette cannot be taken categorically as evidence of any single chronological position but has to be judged variously depending on the context in which it occurs.

<sup>14</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis nos. V.2, V.4, V.14, V.15, V.17. V.2 is of special interest as it shares many individual traits of the decoration with our three vases. In V.17 note the inter-

changeability of outline and silhouette for the necks of the riders, outline being used on one side of the vase, silhouette on the other.

<sup>15</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Examples are found *passim* except in early vases; see *ibid.*, the vases answering to the phases termed Middle and Ripe Pictorial.

<sup>17</sup> The germs of the rise and exhaustion of both particular motifs and particular ways of representing them were surely embedded in society, being located at specific chronological and geographical points. It is an exacting task of scholars to retrieve these; otherwise we shall never comprehend the Mycenaean pictorial pottery, however much we may understand single features (like neck bulges). The emphasis on this point is motivated by the still prevailing habit of accounting for the beginning and end even of such a remarkably coherent and clear-cut ceramic category as the chariot kraters of LH IIIA and LH IIIB (early part) in vague terms of influences from Mainland fresco painting, loans from Syrian art, boredom on the part of the customers and the like. The studies in the proximate area of Mycenaean non-figural pottery are advancing rapidly in the direction of defining the 'floruit' level of a certain style and examining the rise to that level and the decline in terms of their relationship to other, primarily not pottery-oriented phenomena (see K. Kilian, *Mycenaean up to date. Trends and changes in recent research*, in *Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. Manchester April 1986*, Bristol 1988, pp. 117–18 with Fig. 3 on the possible coincidence at Tiryns of such rises and declines with building/rebuilding activities and destructions). The pictorial pottery, being a branch of the great Mycenaean pottery tree, cannot stand outside these developments.

<sup>18</sup> Contrast the equine bodies of the chariot kraters classified by Vermeule & Karageorghis as Ripe Pictorial with those of kraters classified as Early Pictorial. The non-Mycenaean wares alluded to include Corinthian and Etrusco-Corinthian.

<sup>19</sup> The pole is present as a matter of course in the very early chariot representations, the distance of which to "reality" is the smallest, relatively speaking, in the sequence. See Vermeule & Karageorghis nos. III.12, III.13, III.21, III.17. The absence of a pole in III.2 (the Zeus krater) as well as in III.6 (the Roc krater), both quite early vases, is explainable through the position outside the mainstream of the chariot tradition taken by their painters (more on this point in the work in preparation by the author, cf. above n. 9). In the subsequent representations the pole cannot be counted upon to appear everywhere, and in vases classified as Ripe Pictorial it is only sporadic (see the fragmentary krater by the Bamboula Painter in London, Vermeule & Karageorghis no. V.7, Åkerström (above, n. 10), Fig. 13:2 – if the line in question is not only an accidental prolongation of one of the spokes of the wheel; note, however, the relative frequency of an unmistakable pole in the material from Berbati (Åkerström, Pls. 9:3, 10:1, 11, 14:1), much of which seems to me to have affinities with the

works of precisely the Bamboula Painter).

The arch is dependent for its presence on the availability of space under the bellies of the horses. The space diminishes with a low positioning of the horses, whereby their feet interfere more or less with the lower frame formed by the encircling bands (cf. the Nauplion krater). A high positioning is, on the whole, connected more with early vases than a low one. At the same time – and more to the point – belly areas left blank although there is space enough for an element (Rochester krater) is a feature associated with late rather than early vases, if we disregard the very early vases which do not employ any fill elements at all (Vermeule & Karageorghis nos. III.12, III.13); for examples, see Vermeule & Karageorghis nos. V.2, V.14, V.23. As for the tricurved arch itself, its rockwork descent (A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm 1972 (reprint of 1941 edition), p. 392 connects it with a typologically early horizon (cf. Vermeule & Karageorghis no. III.6).

The bent anterior foreleg/s, finally, is a less consistent feature. Yet it would be fair to say that it appears more frequently in early than in late representations; alternatively, that the decisively bent anterior foreleg/s is rare in late vases, while the entirely unbent, vertical kind is equally rare in early vases. Our example, showing a clear although not angled bend, is closer to the former than the latter. For a parallel in shape, see Vermeule & Karageorghis no. IV.48.

Pending detailed analyses of the pictorial elements (see

below), the above observations should be regarded as preliminary.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the date of LH IIIA given by Karageorghis to the Stockholm vase as known to him in 1960 (Karageorghis (above, n. 1), p. 143) and that of LH IIIB given by Vermeule & Karageorghis to both the Rochester and Nauplion kraters (both being Ripe Pictorial according to their classification).

None of the three vases comes from a context of immediate chronological significance. The Stockholm and the Nauplion kraters both derive from tombs which were used for more than one burial. The exact origin of the Rochester krater is unknown; we only know that it was excavated on Cyprus. For fuller information, see the literature cited above, n. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Apart from my own work (see above, n. 9), there is a forthcoming doctoral thesis by Christine Morris on amphoroid kraters and their decoration, with special reference to chariot kraters (cf. *BSA* 82, 1987, p. 40, n. 4), a forthcoming study (another doctoral thesis) by Wolfgang Güntner of the pictorial pottery from the recent excavations at Tiryns and a forthcoming publication by J. H. Crouwel on the corresponding pottery from Mycenae. The latter works will provide important chronological clues for the later phases of the chariot-krater sequence; these clues will also help in tying in the earlier phases. For a first glimpse of this process, see W. Güntner, *Der "Painter of the Shield-Bearers"*, in *Kolloquium zur ägäischen Vorgeschichte* (Mannheim, 20–22.2. 1986), Mannheim 1987, esp. pp. 167–70.

# The Pescia Romana Painter in Stockholm

Charlotte Wikander

Among the collections of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm is included one of the nine known vases by the hand of the so-called Pescia Romana Painter (Inv. no. MM 1960:22. Figs. 1–4), a fact which has been recognized for some time.<sup>1</sup> Seeing that the painter in question is generally considered to be the only painter of note in the Vulcentine production of polychrome, Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, the vase seems to deserve a more thorough presentation than could be done within the limited context of the *Corpus Vasorum*.<sup>2</sup>

The vase is an oinochoe, but one of unusual shape, with a flattened, torus-like belly and a straight pedestal base profiled with several ridges.<sup>3</sup> The body of the vase is in fine buff clay, with decoration in a combination of brown, purple and buff paint and incision. The reserved trefoil lip has two painted eyes; the neck is covered with brown paint, with a painted buff dot-rossette; on the reserved shoulder, a pattern of brown rays is painted, and at the junction between neck and shoulder a series of buff dots. The main decoration is an incised frieze of animals on the belly. The incision is made on a purple background, with details added in buff paint. The frieze consists of: a) a bearded sphinx; b) a double fish;<sup>4</sup> c) an owl with outspread wings; d) a winged horse; e) a panther. The animals are all represented as moving or facing in the same direction, to the right, except the owl, which is seen *en face*.

The decorative technique of the vase, the combination of incision and the use of several colours, defines it as belonging to the so-called Polychrome Etrusco-Corinthian style.<sup>5</sup> The style in question is a typical example of the Etruscan proclivity for choosing foreign models and adapting them to an indigenous formal language, thus transforming them into something greatly dissimilar to the original source of inspiration. This process is more obvious in the Polychrome style than in

the black-figured Etrusco-Corinthian work, which has a closer adherence to the original Corinthian production without being in any way a slavish copy. Vases decorated in a polychrome manner are used in Protocorinthian, and were also exported to Italy, but they were never any major part of the Protocorinthian production.<sup>6</sup> Few of the original Greek polychrome vases have figured decoration: instead, the technique was most common for decorating particularly olpai with scale patterns. On these we find the characteristic combination of colour and incision – the contours of the finely shaped scales are incised and the scales are filled in with alternating colours so that a diagonal banding effect is achieved.<sup>7</sup> These olpai occur particularly in the Late Protocorinthian and Transitional periods, between c. 650 and c. 620 B.C., and inspired Etruscan potters also to an Etrusco-Corinthian class characterised by scale patterns, the so-called “Gruppo a squame”, which marks one of the earliest appearances in Etruria of conscious imitation of Corinthian pottery.

It is easy to understand why the polychrome technique had an early and immediate appeal for the native Etruscan pottery artisans. Fine incision on a dark background was the standard way of decorating the two indigenous wares in Etruria, *impasto* and *bucchero*, from the beginning of the VII century. Since neither of these wares could be painted, incision was the natural means of decoration. It is now generally accepted that the earliest occurrence of *bucchero* was in Southern Etruria, most probably in Caere itself.<sup>8</sup>

It is also in the South that the incision technique is first applied in imitation of the Protocorinthian polychrome. The earliest production centres are found in Caere and Veii, where two hands in particular are in the vanguard: the Monte Abatone Master and the Castellani Painter.<sup>9</sup> Their active production period lies in



Fig. 1





Fig. 2

the last quarter of the VII century B.C. While these two masters work in the same technique, there is a marked difference in their workshop traditions. The Castellani Painter favours smaller shapes, such as aryballoi, for example (excepting his name-vase, an amphora in the Castellani Collection in the Villa Giulia Museum), while the Monte Abatone Master is at present known mainly from amphoras.<sup>10</sup> They also differ in their connections to both the original models and to the previous indigenous tradition. In the works of the Castellani Painter there is a combination of clear Greek influence particularly in the vase shapes he chooses and stylistic ties to the contemporary, incised bucchero production, particularly at Caere.<sup>11</sup> The Monte Abatone Master and his associates are much more independent of Greek tradition, both in their choice of shapes and in the incised decoration. The Master favours a type of amphora of local origin, a forerunner of the so-called Nicosthenic amphora, developed out of the old spiral amphora.<sup>12</sup> While the decoration most often consists of animal friezes, these are not generally modelled on the Protocorinthian friezes but are instead a development of the friezes of fantastic animals current in the Orien-



Fig. 3

talizing tradition of Etruria, adaptations to the local, Central-Italian taste for Oriental and Greek animal friezes where the original models by this time had been thoroughly transformed. The ties between the highly original animal decoration of incised impasto in the Faliscan area and the Caeretan polychrome artists have sometimes been emphasized; they remain to be investigated more thoroughly. There are, strictly speaking, no really detailed parallels between these two categories; what is shared is a preference for the fantastic and elaborate in the creation of animals and the use of incised decoration on their bodies without concern for anatomical detail.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the polychrome touches of paint are used in a wholly non-anatomical manner.

While this early blossoming in polychrome technique is concentrated to the South, the same technique is also employed at Vulci, the later main centre of Etrusco-Corinthian vase painting. The technique there is generally considered to be a later phenomenon than in the southern centres; nevertheless, the first innovator in Etruria of the Etrusco-Corinthian style of painting, the famous Bearded Sphinx Painter, occasionally uses a modified version of the polychrome technique.<sup>14</sup> The

most prominent painter using the full polychrome technique at Vulci is precisely our painter, the *Pescia Romana Painter*, named after the findplace of two *olpai* by his hand now in Florence.

The recognition of the hand goes back to a very early point in time: it was realised in the late nineteenth century that the two *olpai* in Florence were by the same hand.<sup>15</sup> Modern work in the field of Etrusco-Corinthian pottery in general has to a large extent concentrated on recognizing and cataloguing the hands of painters and workshops within the vast material preserved, in order to establish some fundamental structure to an otherwise unmanageable mass. This kind of work has also been done for our Painter, mainly by Amyx and Szilágyi.<sup>16</sup> The result is nine known vases by his hand, including the Stockholm *oinochoe*. None of these vases derives from a controlled context, viz. archaeological excavation with recorded find circumstances: they are all part of museum or private collections. Compared to that of several other notable painters (such as the *Bearded Sphinx Painter*), this known production is rather small, concentrated on a few shapes with the *olpe* as preferred vessel.<sup>17</sup>

The concentration on *olpai* and *oinochoai* is very typical of the Vulcentine workshops, in contrast to the preference for the amphora and various smaller shapes in the south. Apart from this type of criterion, there is, however, no positive evidence of a concentration of find locations which tie the painter to Vulci: one of his vases apparently derives even from Cerveteri, and one from Nola in Campania.<sup>18</sup> The reasons for locating his work to Vulci in spite of the lack of find contexts are based partly on the complete absence of common stylistic traits between his vases and the production in Southern Etruria, partly on an analysis of the ordering of the secondary decoration and the placement of his friezes on the vases.<sup>19</sup> His animal figures, for example, are too distinctly individual to offer any stylistic connection to other polychrome painters either from Vulci or Caere/Veii/Tarquinia. Nevertheless, one clue is offered by his frequent inclusion of a very personal bearded sphinx in his animal friezes: undoubtedly this figure brings to mind the name-animal of the *Bearded Sphinx Painter*, active in Vulci in his early and middle career.

Another reason for locating the *Pescia Romana Painter* to Vulci is the long-recognized ties between his work and that of the Painter and Group of the American Academy; as early as in 1965, Amyx hinted at an identity between the two.<sup>20</sup> Similarities in their styles have been observed a long time ago, by Amyx, and

subsequently commented on by all writers who treated either.<sup>21</sup> Not until 1981, however, was it suggested that the two artists might be one and the same: it was proposed that an *alabastron* in Oxford attributed to the Painter of the American Academy in the blackfigured technique should be attributed instead to the *Pescia Romana Painter*.<sup>22</sup> It is now reported that an identification has actually been made between the *Pescia Romana Painter* and the Painter of the American Academy.<sup>23</sup> This would entail a changeover in technique by the *Pescia Romana Painter*: the Painter of the American Academy works in the normal black-figure manner, albeit with an unusual amount of added colour. There is also a marked change in the shapes of the vases chosen for decoration and the syntax employed: among those works which display the most obvious similarities between the *Pescia Romana Painter* and the "American Academy Painter" are three large *alabastra*, a shape which is not used in the polychrome production of the *Pescia Romana Painter*.<sup>24</sup> These are not decorated with the friezes so typical on his earlier work, but with large single figures covering one whole side of the vessel, in a manner which becomes popular in Corinth during Early Corinthian.<sup>25</sup>

A list of the works by the American Academy Painter compiled by J. G. Szilágyi in 1972 comprises thirty vases; more have been added since.<sup>26</sup> Comparing this list of his *œuvres* with those of the *Pescia Romana Painter*, it is very striking to note what extent a change has been made in the choice of vase shapes employed. The only form in common between the two lists is the plate: the *Pescia Romana Painter* has one plate in Paris, and the Painter of the American Academy eight, to which should be added at least three more.<sup>27</sup> Otherwise, the *olpai* and *oinochoai* which dominate the polychrome work are absent from the black-figure production. There is, however, one definite link between the shapes current in the polychrome production of the *Pescia Romana Painter* and the group of painters collected around the Painter of the American Academy, which also has a direct bearing on the Stockholm *oinochoe*, viz. its extremely unusual shape. While the *olpai* of the *Pescia Romana Painter* follow the traditional canon, his works, besides the Stockholm *oinochoe*, include two other examples of *oinochoai* with pedestal-like base and torus-shaped belly.<sup>28</sup> This extremely unusual variety is also used by the Volunteer Painter, commonly associated to the Group of the American Academy, in two *oinochoai*, one in Seattle and the other formerly on the Swiss art market, now in the J.

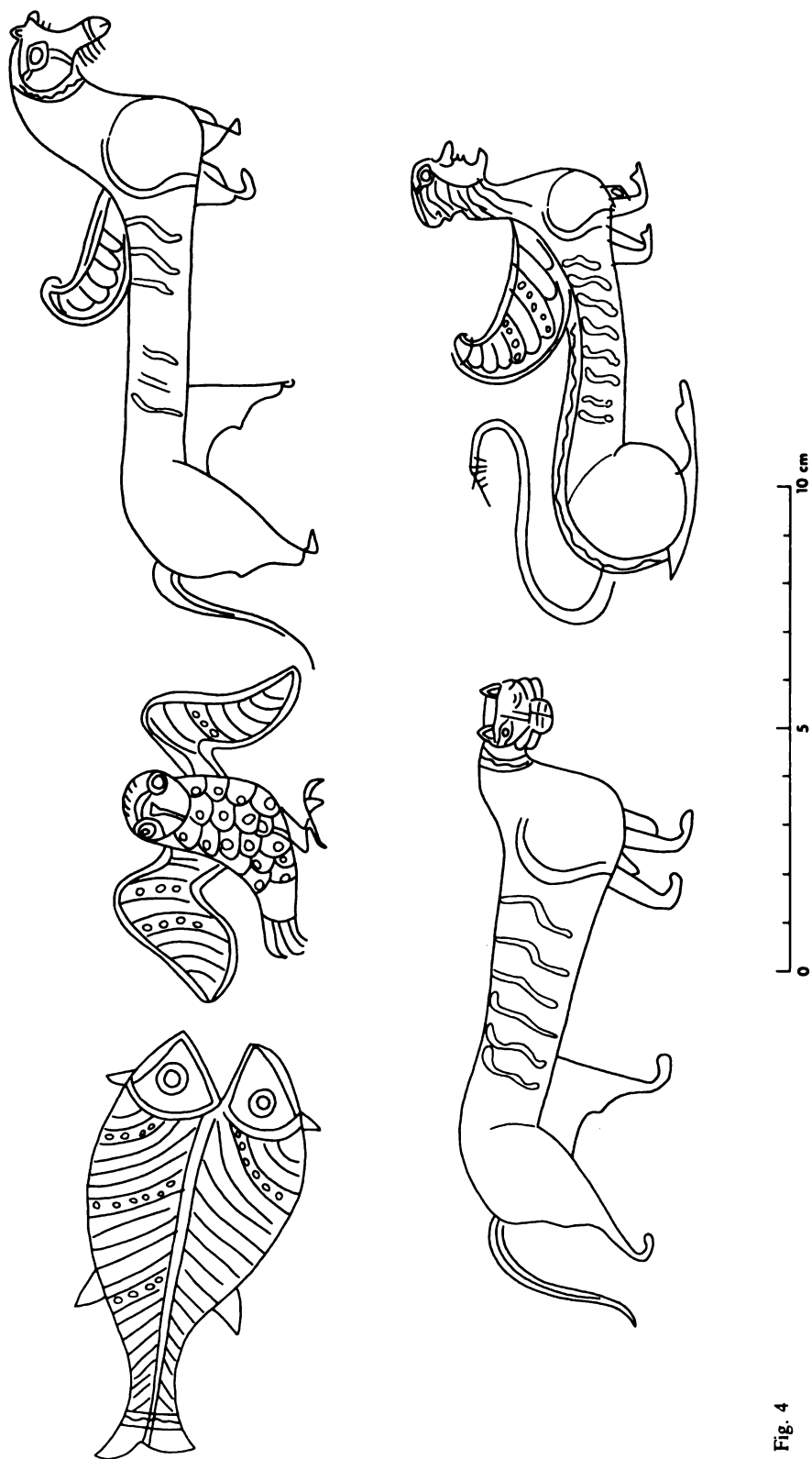


Fig. 4

Paul Getty Museum.<sup>29</sup> The similarities include the secondary decoration, such as the eyes painted in outline below the trefoil mouth. The main differences lie in the technique: the Volunteer oinochoe is in black-figure and generally in its stylistic traits much more like the ordinary run of Vulcentine Etrusco-Corinthian artists of the second generation.

Even without anticipating Professor Szilágyi's results, it is quite obvious that details in the incision exist which make it almost impossible that the two hands are not the same. One such is the drawing of a wild goat's head (cf. the olpe in Lugano and an alabastron in München mentioned by Porten Palange).<sup>30</sup> Equally distinctive is the use of the characteristic crescent profiles shared by the bearded sphinxes of the Pescia Romana Painter and the profile of the warrior on the London alabastron and the bird-man on the alabastron in Oxford.<sup>31</sup> Another trait which is typical of the Pescia Romana Painter and the Group of the American Academy as a whole is the characteristic feline tail, with a leaf-like tip.<sup>32</sup> There are also the occurrences of similar types of fantastic animal combinations: the rich display on the Lugano olpe (lion-bird), etc. and the combined wild goat and bird on the Volunteer Painter's plate in Tomba della Panatenaica.<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, in some respects the differences are very great, the most striking being that of the shapes used for decoration, another the use of filling ornaments. The Pescia Romana Painter does not regularly use filling ornaments in his animal friezes, but does put dot-rosettes on the shoulders of his olpai. The Painter of the American Academy fills the intervening spaces between animals with solid rosettes, often with incised crosses instead of petals, sometimes large enough to resemble those of the Rosoni Group.

Since the change in the production, particularly in regard to shapes, is so obvious, unexplained factors in a definitive identification of the two hands must be said to exist. A hitherto uninvestigated possibility is some sort of connection between the Pescia Romana Painter and his workshop and the continuation of polychrome vase-decoration in Vulci, the well-known but little researched groups of non-figurative vases: the Gruppo di Palmette Fenice, Fiori di loto and the Gruppo ad archetti intrecciati. The first two groups specialize in the shapes missing in the production of the American Academy Painter. Technically, they share one of the characteristics of the Pescia Romana Painter in his giving an olpe a maximum of two friezes. As far as the Gruppo ad archetti intrecciati is concerned, possible

ties are of a more generic nature: the Pescia Romana Painter includes a border of interlaced arches below the animal frieze on the olpe in Bern.<sup>34</sup> A connection between the polychrome painters in Southern Etruria and the Gruppo ad archetti intrecciati was remarked upon by Szilágyi, who postulated a sharing of workshops in one case.<sup>35</sup>

While the polychrome production of the Pescia Romana Painter has normally been dated earlier to c. 590–570, there now seems to be a tendency to raise this date.<sup>36</sup> The imported Greek pottery in the destruction level of the Orientalizing complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) is dated to the last quarter of the VII century, and the fragments of plates by the "American Academy Painter" belong to this phase.<sup>37</sup> Several factors have probably influenced this higher date: the shape of his olpai follows the plump form current in Transitional; the distribution of his animal friezes in one or a maximum of two friezes with a solid shoulder panel contrast with the later Etrusco-Corinthian distribution of several friezes over the entire shape. However, the characteristic ornamentation of wing feathers with white dots may point slightly later: the White Dot Style in Corinthian vase painting is initiated in Early Corinthian, but the development in Middle Corinthian seems more akin to the Pescia Romana Painter.<sup>38</sup> As for the Painter of the American Academy, one of the more reliable chronological indications are two kylikes probably by this hand in the Tomba del Pittore della Sfinge Barbata in Vulci.<sup>39</sup> The tomb itself is dated to between c. 630 and 580,<sup>40</sup> but the shape of the kylikes is defined as an imitation of the form A 1 of Vallet and Villard, which at least means it belongs to the period around 600 B.C.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, there are several possibilities of investigation concerning the Pescia Romana Painter and his function as a bilingual artist. Another area which has not yet been thoroughly researched is the connections between the use of the polychrome technique in the South and its subsequent use in Vulci – it is clear that the stylistic traits of the two groups are very different, but nevertheless the technical language is the same in many details.



Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Ms. Carole Gillis, Lund, for checking the English of the manuscript.

The following abbreviations are used in addition to those recommended by the *American Journal of Archaeology* (AJA 90, 1986, pp. 384–394): Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*=J. G. Szilágyi, 'Etrusco-korinthische polychrome Vasen', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock* 16, 1967, pp. 543–553. Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*=F. P. Porten Palange, 'Olpe Etrusco-corinzia in una collezione privata ticinese', *Nuismatica e antichità classiche* 5, 1976, pp. 7–25.

<sup>1</sup> The vase was first mentioned and attributed by F. P. Porten Palange, after being notified by J. G. Szilágyi, in 1976 (not illustrated), and later published briefly in *CVA Sweden* 2, Stockholm 1, pp. 87–88, fig. 61, pl. 39:4–6 (Ch. Wikander). It was also recently published in *La ceramica degli Etruschi. La pittura vascolare* (ed. by M. Martelli, Novara 1987), p. 281, tav. 66 (M. Martelli). The main treatments of the Pesca Romana Painter are to be found in Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 549, and a list of his vases (excepting the Stockholm oinochoe) on pp. 551–552 (nos. 30–31, 36–39 and 61); cf. also D. A. Amyx, 'Some Etrusco-Corinthian vase-painters', in *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Roma 1965), pp. 9–10; I. Jucker, *Aus der Antikensammlung des Bernischen Historischen Museums* (Bern 1970), p. 36; Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*; J. G. Szilágyi, 'Considerazioni sulla ceramica etrusco-corinzia di Vulci: risultati e problemi', in *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci e la sua espansione* (Firenze 1977), pp. 54–55; M. Martelli, in *Prima Italia. L'Arte italica del I millennio a.C.* (Museo L. Pigorini, Roma EUR, 18 marzo–30 aprile 1981), Roma 1981, pp. 104–106.

<sup>2</sup> This in spite of the fact that many details of the vase were described and analysed by Porten Palange, since this article contained no illustrations of the Stockholm vase and the journal in which it was published is somewhat difficult to get access to.

<sup>3</sup> For a complete description, I refer to the volume of CVA mentioned *supra*, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The animal could be defined as a broad fish with two separate heads.

<sup>5</sup> The main treatise on this style is Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*; cf. also J. G. Szilágyi, 'Italo-Corinthiaca', *StEtr* 26, 1958, pp. 273–284; W. L. Brown, *The etruscan lion* (Oxford 1960), pp. 58–59; Amyx (*supra*, n. 1), pp. 7–11.

<sup>6</sup> For a magnificent example of the kind of Protocorinthian, polychrome, figured pottery imported to Italy, see the oinochoe from Veii, Quaranta Rubbie, G. Proietti in *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria meridionale* (Roma 1975), pp. 34–35, tav. 8:1; cf. also Brown (*supra*, n. 5), p. 58, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931), pp. 271 and 277.

<sup>8</sup> A date of c. 675 is currently suggested.

<sup>9</sup> For the Monte Abatone Master and his group, the Monte Abatone Cyclus, see Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, pp. 544–547; A. Emiliozzi Morandi in *Nuove scoperte* (*supra*, n. 6), pp. 55–56, tav. 14; A. Giuliano, 'Una anfora etrusca policroma', in

*L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine* (Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon, Coll. de l'École française de Rome, 27, Rome 1976), pp. 323–324. The Castellani Painter was first named by Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 5), p. 274; Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, pp. 547–549; see also M. Cristofani Martelli, 'A proposito della cronologia del Maestro Castellani', *StEtr* 39, 1971, pp. 379–392. She located the painter's activity to Veii, and has suggested an initial date of his production to c. 630 B.C., earlier than that originally suggested by Szilágyi. The higher date has been generally accepted, also by Szilágyi himself.

<sup>10</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*; G. Bartoloni in *Nuove scoperte* (*supra*, n. 6), pp. 204–205, tav. 50:14. To the production of this group can now also be added an oinochoe found at Acquarossa: Ch. Scheffer in *Architettura Etrusca nel Viterbese* (Roma 1986), pp. 117–118, fig. 118, no. 222.

<sup>11</sup> M. Bonamici, *I bucheri con figurazioni graffite* (Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, 8, Firenze 1974), pp. 98–99.

<sup>12</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 544.

<sup>13</sup> This kind of ornamental treatment is not confined to incised wares alone. In several examples of more elaborate vases in the specifically Caeretan red impasto with white-painted decoration, similar body treatment occurs: E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1897), pls. 33, D 144 and 34, D 153.

<sup>14</sup> On the shoulder of an olpe in Munich: Brown (*supra*, n. 5), pp. 53 and 54, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 549, n. 48.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 1. While the fundamentals concerning the painter have been established by Szilágyi, his style, which is very distinctive, has been analysed thoroughly by Porten Palange.

<sup>17</sup> The shapes are: five olpai (Florence, Bern, Lugano, private collection and one in the art market); three oinochoai, all of the distinctive shape described above: in Stockholm, Orvieto, and on the Swiss art market, present location unknown; one plate (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles); cf. Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Szilágyi *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 551, no. 38; Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> J. G. Szilágyi, 'Remarques sur les vases étrusco-corinthiens de l'exposition étrusque de Vienne', *ArchCl* 20, 1968, pp. 20–21.

<sup>20</sup> Amyx, *Studi Banti* (*supra*, n. 1), pp. 9–10.

<sup>21</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 549; Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*, pp. 23–25; Szilágyi, (*supra*, n. 1), p. 56.

<sup>22</sup> Martelli (*supra*, n. 1), p. 104. This author, however, still claims the separate identity of the American Academy Painter, and apart from the alabastron mentioned it is not clear which vases are differentiated; others also seem to be involved.

<sup>23</sup> The identification is attributed to Prof. Szilágyi by E. Mangani in *Casa e Palazzi* (Catalogue of the exhibition at Siena, ed. by S. Stopponi, Firenze 1985), p. 79. Neither of the two works by Szilágyi reported there has been accessible to me. A further elucidation is offered in the reference to a personal communication from professor Szilágyi to K. M. Phillips, Jr.,

in 'Masks on a canopic urn and an Etrusco-Corinthian perfume pot', in *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum* (Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium, Ed. by J. Swaddling, London 1986), p. 153, n. 24. A full treatment of the question of identity between these two hands is thus out of the question here, while awaiting the results of Prof. Szilágyi.

<sup>24</sup> One in the British Museum, mentioned *supra*, n. 23. The vase was first analysed by Amyx in 1967: D. A. Amyx, 'The Mingor Painter and others: Etrusco-Corinthian addenda', *StEtr* 35, 1967, pp. 97–100, and attributed to the "Warrior Painter"; on the more practical name "American Academy Painter" for this artist see J. G. Szilágyi 'Le fabbriche di ceramica etrusco-corinzia a Tarquinia', *StEtr* 40, 1972, p. 32 n. 16. The second is his name-vase in the American Academy: A. M. Harmon & E. V. Hansen in *MAAR* 10, 1932, p. 117, no. 543, pl. 24; Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 19), tav. XI:1–2; the third in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 19), p. 19, no. 49, tav. XII:1–2. This last is the vase mentioned by Martelli, *supra*, nn. 1 and 22.

<sup>25</sup> J. L. Benson, *Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen* (Basel 1953), p. 73; Amyx (*supra*, n. 24), pp. 99–100, compares the two vases in the British Museum and Oxford to the Middle Corinthian painters of the Louvre E 574 and the Erlenmeyer painter.

<sup>26</sup> Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 24) pp. 71–73. Additions are the three fragments of plates found in the Orientalizing complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo): *supra* n. 23.

<sup>27</sup> It seems clear from the catalogue *Case e palazzi* (*supra*, n. 23), pp. 78–79, that three different plates are involved. The Pescia Romana Painter is indeed credited with being the first Etrusco-Corinthian artist to use this shape: J. G. Szilágyi, 'Etrusco-korinthische Vasen in Malibu', *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 2), p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 549 and n. 50; Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*, p. 14, n. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Amyx in *Studi Banti* (*supra*, n. 1), pp. 10–11, tav. I and III; Szilágyi, (*supra*, n. 27), pp. 7–8, Abb. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*, p. 24, tav. III; J. Sieveking & R. Hackl, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu*

*München* I (München 1912), Abb. 80.

<sup>31</sup> *Supra*, nn. 21 and 24. On the Oxford alabastron we also find one of the most characteristic animals of the Pescia Romana Painter, the owl.

<sup>32</sup> This can be seen on the Stockholm oinochoe as well; it is present in the works of the Volunteer Painter, both on his oinochoai mentioned *supra*, n. 29 and on the plate from the Tomba Panatenaica in Vulci which must be from his hand: G. Riccioni & M. T. Falconi Amorelli, *La Tomba Panatenaica di Vulci* (Quaderni di Villa Giulia no. 3, 1968), no. 27, p. 44; Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 27), p. 7, n. 14. The same tail can also be seen on the plate by the Painter of the American Academy in Moscow, Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 19), tav. X:1.

<sup>33</sup> *Supra*, n. 31.

<sup>34</sup> Jucker (*supra*, n. 1), Taf. 11:1.

<sup>35</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 545, à propos the Brown Painter; this same occurs for the "Schlingen Meister", see A. Emiliozzi Morandi in *Nuove scoperte* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 56.

<sup>36</sup> Szilágyi, *Polychrome Vasen*, p. 550; Porten Palange, *Olpe Etrusco-corinzia*, p. 23; Martelli (*supra*, n. 1), p. 104. A higher date (last decades of the VII century) is given by E. Mangani in *Case e palazzi* (*supra*, n. 23), p. 79.

<sup>37</sup> K. M. Phillips, Jr. in *Case e palazzi* (*supra*, n. 23).

<sup>38</sup> H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) pp. 284–285, pls. 21:1–2, 9 and 35:1, 4–5; Amyx (*supra*, n. 24), pp. 99–100; the use of white dots along certain inner incision lines is continued in the black-figure of the American Academy Painter.

<sup>39</sup> G. Colonna in *Nuovi tesori dell'antica Tuscia* (Viterbo 1970), p. 39, no. 26. The one included in the exhibition is defined by Colonna as painted by a member of the Group of the American Academy ("in parte da identificare con il Warrior Painter di Amyx", i.e. the American Academy Painter himself. The vase is not illustrated, but both these kylikes are included in the work-list of the painter by Szilágyi (*supra*, n. 24), p. 72.

<sup>40</sup> Colonna (*supra*, n. 39), p. 34.

<sup>41</sup> For recent summaries and bibliography on the Ionian cups and their imitations, see K. M. Phillips, Jr. and L. R. Lacy in *Case e palazzi* (*supra*, n. 23), pp. 75–77; B. Bosio in *Gli Etruschi di Cerveteri* (Milano 1986), pp. 107–108.

# Two Roman Mosaic Fragments

Marie-Louise Winbladh

In 1982 the Medelhavsmuseet acquired, through deposition, two fragments of Late Roman pavement mosaics.<sup>1</sup> They belong to the Ernest Erickson Foundation and were transferred to the museum as a long term loan. One of them is an *emblema* showing a water bird facing right, on a light back-ground (Fig. 1). On the other a wild ass is galloping to the left (Fig. 5).

A rectangular border frames the bird on the *emblema* mosaic. The border is made of two rows of dark-grey and brown tesserae and two rows of creamy-white to light green tesserae. One row of light brown tesserae at the lower edge of the *emblema* indicates that the preserved border is incomplete. Two rows of tesserae in the background follow the shape of the figure, in a way that closely resembles the *vermiculatum* technique. The bird is well preserved on a background of creamy-white tesserae. Dark grey and brown to black stones fill out the head and the outline of the body, which is well drawn. The bird has four bands of dark and light brown, pink and white tesserae across the chest. The same colours are used in its right wing. Two stripes of white tesserae run down the body, tail and leg. The beak and feet are rendered with light brown tesserae and the eye is indicated with a white stone. The front part of the beak and feet have small, triangular tesserae. Grey stones fill out the rest of the body.

The tesserae are of irregular shape with an average size of ca 1 cm, and they are set with a good deal of mortar in the interstices. They are likely to be made of local marble. No difference in size can be seen between tesserae forming the background and the bird. The technique represents a mixture of *opus tessellatum* and *vermiculatum*, the latter, however, less refined. The rows of the background are regular but not straight. In average there are about 70 tesserae in 10 cm square.

The *emblema* is set upon a new substructure of cement of rectangular shape.

A closer investigation of these two mosaics suggests that they may be from one of the Roman provinces in the Eastern Mediterranean. More precisely, the Erickson pieces – particularly the fragment of the animal frieze – seem to have affinities with Late Roman mosaics in Syria, one of the most interesting areas for the study of ancient mosaics today. During the fifth century A.D. religious buildings, churches, chapels, baptisteria and martyria were built in abundance in Syria, even on the border of the desert. The exploration of ancient sites, churches and monasteries e.g. at Antioch and Apamea has yielded important finds.<sup>2</sup>

The *emblema* originally developed in the Hellenistic areas in the East. Its tradition was still alive in the 4th century A.D. in e.g. Antioch. Birds are generally used as decorative motifs in ornamental panels shown in a side view; they often lack elements of comparison, e.g. anatomical details, and it is difficult to grasp the transformation of style from period to period. The realistic element of the bird motif was gradually transformed into a decorative one. A few dark lines suggest the folded wings on the bodies, which are shown in compact masses with shades of a single colour.

Ducks on an *emblema* from the Constantinian Villa at Antioch (325 A.D.) are rendered in a stiff, dry manner and lively movements are avoided. This points towards a successive stiffening in forms. The mosaic with the ducks reveals for the first time the beginning of a long-lived stylization.<sup>3</sup> What once looked natural, now became schematized and linear.

The bird in the Erickson mosaic is rendered as a single mass with no attempt to indicate different parts or depth of feathers or colours. The colouration of the



Fig. 1. Stockholm mosaic. *Emblema* with water bird.

body within the thick outlines is weak. The wing is separated from the breast by a single arc with an end protruding only slightly beyond the line of the back.

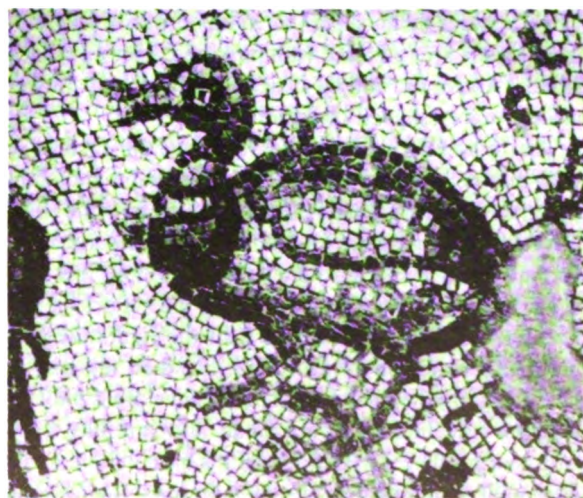
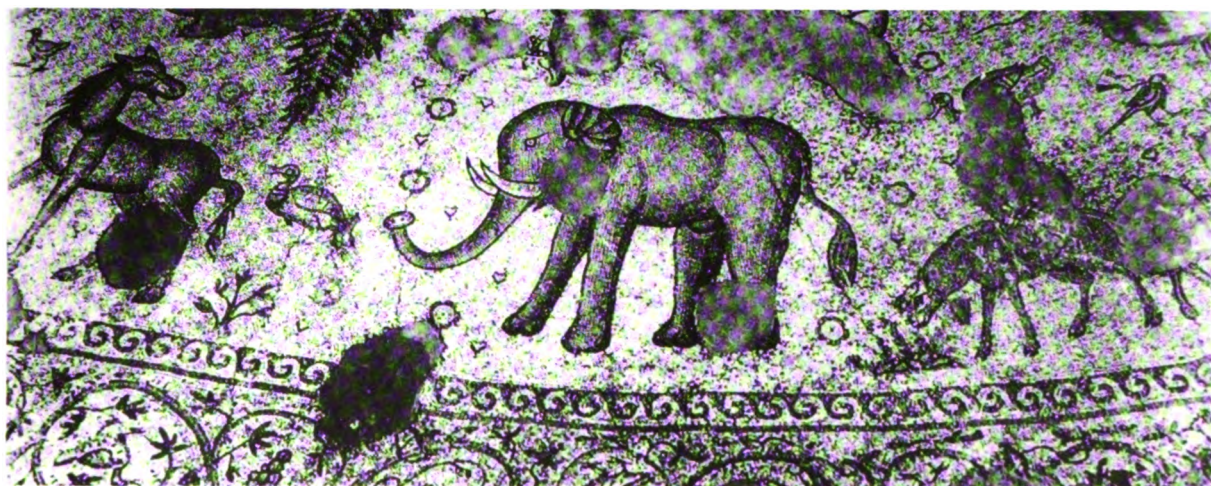
A water bird, similar to this mosaic, is depicted in a beautiful rinceau on a large sixth century mosaic composition from Ain-el-Bad (Hama) in Syria.<sup>4</sup> The bird motif in general was well suited to rooms with a limited space. It seems also to have been an acceptable motif for pavements in funerary chapels, at least in Palestine. In this context they appeared as the souls of paradise beside peacocks – the symbols of eternity.

In the Martyrion of Seleucia, the harbour town of Antioch, there is a pavement mosaic in the North am-

bulatory with a large number of animals looking as if taken from an artist's sample book (sixth century A.D. Figs. 2-3).<sup>5</sup> Among the animals there is also a duck, similar in style to the water bird on the Erickson mosaic. The duck on the Seleucia mosaic, however, is turned to the left and is not in an *emblema* but is part of an animal frieze (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup>

The second mosaic on deposition at the Medelhavsmuseet is larger, though only a fragment of what appears to have been an animal frieze or a hunting scene (Fig. 5). Here a wild ass is depicted against a light background of buff-white tesserae. Two to four rows of tesserae follow the shape of the animal, outlined in





Figs. 2–4. Seleucia Martyrion. Details from pavement mosaic in the North Ambulatory, including horse and duck.





Fig. 5. Stockholm mosaic. Part of animal frieze with a wild ass.

brown and black tesserae and the body is filled with creamy/with, buff, light green and grey tesserae. Minute, pink tesserae indicate the front part of the nose and lower part of eye, with white stones for the eyeball and a black stone for the pupil. The shadings are in dark grey and along the back is a band of darker stones to suggest the volume of the body. The wild ass runs across an uneven rocky ground indicated with buff-white tesserae. Plants, similar to olive sprays, and stylized flowers are rendered with pink, red, grey and black stones. Above the animal's back is another large flower against a grey shaded background.

The mosaic is made in the *vermiculatum* technique with marble tesserae rather regular in shape and comparatively small, averaging less than 1 cm per side (0.4–1 cm). In average there are about 90–100 tesserae in 10 cm square. The background tesserae follow the contours of the motifs. The setting of the cubes in the background does not contrast with the figurative part and there is no difference in size between tesserae of the background and animal. The tesserae are tightly set together and interstices are small and carefully filled with mortar. The mosaic fragment is mounted on a bed of cement, held together by a metal frame. The tesserae

have heavy incrustations.

The wild ass flees in agony; the horror it feels is underlined by the large pink and white eyeball and a band of black tesserae above its eye. The attitude of the animal is conventional and generally associated with antelopes and stags.<sup>7</sup> It runs with a distorted neck and the far too small head turned towards its attacker. The mane is in shaggy, dark tufts and the tail seems to be that of a mule, although too small. The hoofs on the hindlegs are more similar to paws. The wild ass on the Erickson mosaic is presented in a superficial manner with few lines or shades and some inner strips of colour, and no anatomic verity. Real volume is not produced by light, shade and outlines, but is limited to a superficial effect. The lack of organic connection of the limbs leads to the disintegration of the animal forms. There is no attempt to show realistic details of the main anatomical parts of the bodies or of the proportions between the different parts, which results in a loss of volume. A few lines of shade only hint at a summary anatomical division.

A favourite motif repeated monotonously in Late Roman mosaics was that of the wild animal rearing against its attacker. Usually the hindlegs are rendered





Fig. 6. Huarte mosaic. Pavement mosaic from a church, showing a bear chasing wild asses.

with the further one outlined beyond the front one, whereas the fore legs diverge with the nearer one lower down. The oblique and unnatural stance of the body gives it the appearance of a mechanical toy rather than that of a living creature.

The motif with a donkey occurs in peaceful vintage scenes, as e.g. on a mosaic pavement from El Hamman, Beisan, a large cemetery in Palestine.<sup>8</sup> Many mosaic pavements were discovered there in the 1930's.<sup>9</sup> It was possible to divide these mosaics into two groups: lay and ecclesiastical. To the former category belong private houses, baths and mansions. Ecclesiastical are the churches, chapels and monasteries. The majority of the pavements date to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. and are predominantly ecclesiastical in character. Animals, flowers and birds are the favourite motifs in these mosaics. At Beisan the pavements are in small funerary chapels with mosaic pavements over the vaults of some tombs from the sixth century A.D.

Some idea of what the Erickson fragment might have been like originally, is provided by a fifth century mosaic from a church in the village of Huarte, 15 km north of Apamea in northern Syria.<sup>10</sup> A wild bear chases two wild asses in a combat scene between animals on a large pavement mosaic (Fig. 6). The attitude of the animals has certain similarities to the wild ass on the Erickson

mosaic fragment, although the anatomical details on the latter are fewer and less skilfully rendered than on the Huarte mosaic. There are, however, other details associating the Huarte mosaic with the Erickson piece. The ground is shown in a characteristic scale-pattern; completely on the Huarte mosaic and only partly on the Erickson one. Both mosaics have similar flowers and plant motifs, e.g. typical flowers in the shape of lozenges. This vegetation is not intended to give a topographic reality to the scene, but is an instance of the widespread phenomenon of *horror vacui* or mechanical filling with ornaments. The stylized flowers are an innovation of the fifth century, supposed to have been copied from textile patterns.<sup>11</sup>

The scene on the Huarte pavement has been interpreted as a representation of the tumult and struggles, due non-baptized people!<sup>12</sup> It is to be noted that the mosaic with the persecution of animals and the turmoil had its symbolic place in one of the aisles, far away from the mosaic in the nave with quite a different atmosphere. In the mosaic in the nave is Adam, dressed and sitting on a throne in a position like the image of Christ or the Emperor. With an open book in his hand, he is giving names to all the animals peacefully surrounding him in a paradise-like garden.

There is also the large mosaic from the site of al-





Fig. 7. Seleucia Martyrion. Detail with a horse from the pavement mosaic in the North Ambulatory.

Houwate, in the vicinity of Mhardé in Syria. In this mosaic are found the lion, the tiger, the wild ass, typical animals living in the nearby plain of Ghâb.<sup>13</sup> In one scene a lioness is persecuting a wild ass.

In the Seleucia Martyrion (Figs. 2–3) the whole ambulatory surrounding the quatrefoil was covered by mosaic pavement. Two series of animals, strolling in a landscape paradise with trees and bushes, resemble a zoological copybook. The animal friezes in the pavement represent the final point of the animal style. The animals have tubular bodies, almost deprived of anatomical division with hard parallel outlines on the back, the abdomen stereotyped and unarticulated, with the legs spread out as if to give the animals a better stance. Among the immobile animals in stiff positions of the Seleucia mosaic there are fleeing antelopes and a horse which have stylistic affinities with the ass in the mosaic

in the Medelhavsmuseet.<sup>14</sup> The rendering of the hoofs and the stylization of the mane in summary and unnatural on both animals (Fig. 7). Trees and bushes seem to have a formal function in the whole composition, rather than depict a real landscape. The Seleucia pavement is dated to before A.D. 526.<sup>15</sup>

In classical art the paradeisos or exhibition of all kinds of animals is associated with the myth of Orpheus enchanting the animals with his music. In the great majority of monuments, however, the myth is a pretext for a generic representation of animal types. The mythical representation gradually changed into an animal sample book. Parallel rows of animals in a rigid arrangement is not a representation of a local fauna, but copies from pattern-books repeated everywhere.<sup>16</sup>

Since ornamental art prevailed over mythological, the arrangement of a pattern-book of animals around





Fig. 8. Cilicia mosaic. Pavement mosaic from a martyrium, showing animals marching round the Ark.

the image of Orpheus leads to the use of animal motifs for the all-over decoration of floors. One animal could be taken over for ornamental patterns. Parts of a paradisos could be used for continous friezes. Single animals inserted into the sections of the central geometric pattern of a floor, and a row of animals in a frieze on the border surrounding the floor itself, may be found. The same repertory continued to be used in Christian iconography.<sup>17</sup>

A well preserved pavement mosaic from a martyrium

in Cilicia, southern Turkey, is an example of an animal frieze when complete.<sup>18</sup> Here we have another aspect of the same theme, i.e. the salvation of the individual through Christianity. In the center of the large mosaic Noah's Ark, in the shape of a large, open trough, is offering a haven to the animals of the earth and the air (Fig. 8). The Ark is of course a symbol of the Christian church which offers help and rescue to believers only. The mosaic from Cilicia is dated to the late fourth century A.D.

It is difficult to establish a link between the mosaic and its architectural setting. The majority were, however, meant to serve as a durable embellishment of floors. In baths the utilitarian function of mosaics is clear. The use of water made such floors suitable for *balaneia*.

Unfortunately there is no external evidence for the provenance and dating of the mosaics in the Medelhavsmuseet, but they seem to accord well with the standards of Late Roman mosaics in Syria. Mosaic work in Syria followed a new development from late fourth century A.D. to the Arab conquest, with both iconographical and stylistical changes. A new repertoire included animal and vegetable themes, but mythological subjects were abandoned. Main themes in the fifth and sixth centuries were mostly animal representations, animals being the expression of a mythical symbolism.

It seems plausible that our mosaics – at least the fragment with a wild ass – come from an ecclesiastical context. The *emblema* might have formed a part of a decorative border round a central *emblema* of large size. The Erickson mosaics seem to differ in style and stone variety, the water bird being of a higher quality in the fresh rendering of the bird. The mosaic on the animal frieze is more carefully laid, but the drawing of the wild ass is dry and schematized. The stylistic considerations and parallels discussed above suggest an assignment to the Late Roman period in Syria. Perhaps they come from different regions of Syria and/or slightly different periods, not later, however, than the sixth century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> No 1. *Emblema* mosaic; measures: height 52 cm. Width 63 cm. (substructure: 55.5 × 66 × 5 cm).

No 2. Animal frieze; measures: height 83 cm. Width 136 cm. (substructure: 85 × 150 × 5 cm).

The mosaics were transferred to the National Museum in 1968 and to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1982. Inv.nos. in the National Museum: NM 382/1968 (*emblema*) and NM 383/1968 (animal frieze).

<sup>2</sup> J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie*, Bruxelles 1977, pp. 5 and 130.

<sup>3</sup> D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, pp. 227 and 592, pl. 61a (Room I, Rectangular panels of the border round square section of Room I).

<sup>4</sup> Balty, op. cit., p. 183, cat.no 64.

<sup>5</sup> Levi, op. cit., p. 359 ff., pls. 88–89, 175.

<sup>6</sup> Levi, op. cit., pl. 25b (detail), p. 361.

<sup>7</sup> Levi, op. cit., pls. 88b, 177b.

<sup>8</sup> *QDAP* 5, 1936 p. 11 ff., Pl. 16:2; Levi, op. cit., p. 515, Fig. 191.

<sup>9</sup> *QDAP* 3, 1934, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Balty, op. cit., p. 128, cat.no 59; *Syria* 56, 1979, p. 89, Fig. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Balty, op. cit., p. 134, cat.no 62 (mosaic from Apamea. Sixth century A.D.).

<sup>12</sup> Balty, op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>13</sup> *Syria* 64, 1987, p. 328.

<sup>14</sup> Levi, op. cit., pl. 175b.

<sup>15</sup> Levi, op. cit., p. 360.

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<sup>18</sup> L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien I*, Recklinghausen 1969, p. 109, pl. 27.



# Swedish Classical Archaeology 1987

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The present list is a sequel to the one published in last year's issue of this periodical (*Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 22, 1987, 70–72). It consists of books and papers in the field of Classical archaeology (including ancient art and architecture as well as history and, as an addition to last years list, numismatics) by Swedish scholars and by foreign scholars working in Sweden or at Swedish institutions or projects. It includes not only scholarly studies but also popular versions (in Swedish), especially when they concern the respective author's own research. The list is compiled from titles collected by Dr Berit Wells (Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean) and by Drs Charlotte and Örjan Wikander (Italy and the Western Mediterranean). There are also a few additions to the list of 1986.

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*Boreas*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations. Distributors: Almqvist & Wiksell International, Box 45150, S-104 30 Stockholm



- Fornvännen*, Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research, published by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, distributed by Bibliotekstjänst, Kundtjänst, Fack, S-221 01 Lund
- Förr och Nu*, Journal published by Föreningen Förr och Nu, Box 9001, S-126 09 Hägersten
- Kulturen. Årsbok*, The Annual of the *Kulturen* [The museum of cultural history at Lund], Box 1095, S-221 04 Lund
- Medusa*, Journal published by the Society for a Swedish Journal of Antiquity, Renstiernas gata 25, S-116 31 Stockholm
- OpRom*, Opuscula Romana, published by the Swedish Institute in Rome (Distributor Paul Åströms Förlag, Västra Hamngatan 3, S-411 17 Göteborg)
- Polhem*, Journal of technical history, published by The Swedish National Committee for technical history, Ingenjörsvetenskapsakademien, Box 5073, S-102 42 Stockholm
- RDAC*, Reports of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus
- Romhorisont*, Journal published by the Friends of the Swedish Institute in Rome, The Royal Castle, S-111 30 Stockholm
- SIMA*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, published by Paul Åströms Förlag, Västra Hamngatan 3, S-411 17 Göteborg
- Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, Journal of the Svenska Numismatiska Föreningen, Östermalmsgatan 81, S-114 50 Stockholm

# Activities 1987–1988

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period from July 1st, 1987 to June 30th, 1988 the activities of the Museum had to be reduced for the second year, as the building programme of the National Board of Public Building (see Bulletin 22, 1987) continued. The Museum was closed for one month during the winter as well as from 16 May 1988. It will open again some time in the autumn, when the new, extended Egyptian and Cypriote permanent exhibitions will be ready. The new Greek, Near Eastern and Islamic permanent exhibitions will be finished later on.

The interior renovation of the premises was completed last spring. The new hall for temporary exhibitions will be ready at the beginning of the autumn 1988. The reserve collections of the Graeco-Roman Department, including a large proportion of the Cyprus Collections, have been moved into the new acclimatized store-rooms. The Egyptian store-room has been renovated and equipped with special appropriate installations.

Among acquisitions to the Museum, the Egyptian Department has received a small group of Alexandrian billon tetradrachms. The Graeco-Roman Department has acquired a Cypriote terracotta group representing three women dancing around a sacred tree. Moreover two Cypriote bichrome amphorae and five Roman glass vessels have been received.

The exhibitions continued despite the disturbances caused by the building activity. The exhibition "With a Camera along the Nile. Early Photographers in Egypt", opened on May 25th 1987, was shown until August 31st. During the autumn it was shown at the Naval Museum in Karlskrona.

During the period from October 10th to January 10th 1988 the exhibition "The God with the Double-Axe. Zeus in Labraunda" was shown. The exhibition consisted of 85 objects from the Museums at Izmir and Bo-

drum in Turkey, which came from the Swedish excavations at Labraunda in Caria. The exhibition also included a number of architectural models of buildings at Labraunda, built by students at the Chalmers Institute of Technology in Gothenburg. Moreover a marble relief was borrowed from the British Museum.

During the period from February 11th to May 15th 1988 the exhibition "The Queen of the Desert. Art and Culture from Palmyra" was shown in collaboration with the Museum of National Antiquities. The exhibition was inaugurated by H. M. Queen Silvia in the presence of H. M. the King. The exhibition consisted of sculpture, architectural fragments, decorative details in stucco, textiles and textile fragments. All the 100 objects were borrowed from the National Museum in Damascus. Many of them came from Polish excavations at Palmyra.

The three Cypriote sculptures, which last year were lent to the Ueberseemuseum in Bremen for the exhibition "Aphrodites Schwestern" during the period June to November 1987, were later borrowed by the Ober-Österreichisches Landesmuseum in Linz for the presentation of the same exhibition from March to May 1988.

During the summer and the autumn 1987 objects from the Egyptian Department were borrowed by the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim to be shown in a major exhibition.

Among exhibitions lent to other Swedish museums, "The World of Islam" was shown in five places. Moreover it was shown in the Ålands Museum on the Finnish island of the same name.

The exhibition "One Thousand Years of Greek Pottery" was shown at the County Museum in Kalmar, where also the Palmyra exhibition was on view in summer 1988 on behalf of the National Museum in Damascus.



Display of the exhibition "The God with the Double Axe — Zeus at Labraunda". In the foreground marble sphinx, possibly an akroterion of the banqueting hall of Maussollos (Andron B), the corner of which is shown in the full-scale model behind.

The excavations in Greece, at Asine in the Argolid and at Chania in Crete were, as usual, administered by the Museum. The volume on the Classical and the Hellenistic material from Asine by Mr Erik Poulsen, Copenhagen, will soon be ready for printing. At Chania Dr Erik Hallager and Mrs Birgitta Pålsson-Hallager and other members of the team have intensified their work on the final publication.

At Carthage, two study projects were carried out during the year, the first in September 1987 with the field director Birgitta Sander, Marie-Louise Blennow, Gudrun Anselm and Claus Grønne as participators. The second took place in May and June 1988, when M. L. Blennow and G. Anselm continued the study of the pottery.

In September 1988, Dr Pontus Hellström will resume





Detail from the exhibition "The Queen of the Desert. Art and Culture from Palmyra".

the Swedish excavations at Labraunda in Turkey. The aim is to increase our knowledge of the andron buildings previously excavated before the final report is published by Dr Hellström and Dr Thomas Thieme.

During the year, *Bulletin 22, 1987* appeared, as usual with Dr Bengt Peterson as Editor. It contained scholarly articles on objects in the Museum's collections. For the first time there was also a bibliographical article on

Swedish Classical Archaeology 1986. Three more titles were issued in the series in Swedish: 9. *The God with the Double-Axe. Zeus in Labraunda*. The book was written by Dr Hellström in connection with the Labraunda exhibition and is in both Swedish and in Turkish. 10. *The Temples of Egypt* by Dr Peterson and Dr Beate George. 11. *Palmyra*. This volume was published in connection with the Palmyra exhibition.

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